

Printed

POLITICAL TREATISES,

ON THE

Following Subjects :

I. The POLICE of FRANCE:

WITH A

Particular Description of the POLICE and GOVERNMENT
of the City of PARIS.

II. An Account of the SOUTHERN MARITIME PROVINCES of FRANCE;

With Observations on the CITIES

OF

AIX, MARSEILLES, and TOULON.

To which are added,

REMARKS on the MARINE of FRANCE.

III. The LAWS and POLICY of ENGLAND,

Relating to TRADE,

Examined, &c.

By SIR WILLIAM MILD MAY, BART.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by T. HARRISON, in WARWICK-LANE; and by
J. ROBSON, in NEW-BOND-STREET.

MDCCLXVI.



The Police of *France*:

O R,

An ACCOUNT of the

LAWS and REGULATIONS

ESTABLISHED

In that **KINGDOM**,

FOR THE

Prefervation of **P E A C E**,

AND THE

Preventing of **R O B B E R I E S**.

To which is added,

A particular Description of the **POLICE** and
GOVERNMENT of the City of **PARIS**.

Fas est et ab Hoste doceri. Ovid.

L O N D O N :

Printed by E. OWEN and T. HARRISON in *Warwick-Lane*.

MDCCCLXIII.



P R E F A C E.



SOON after the peace was concluded by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, his late Majesty was pleased to recommend to both Houses of Parliament, “ to consider seriously of some effectual provisions “ to suppress those audacious crimes of robbery “ and violence, which were then become frequent, “ especially about the capital.” This was intimated to me, residing at that time at Paris, where observing, that these great evils were happily suppressed, both in the capital, and in all the provinces of France, I thought it my duty, as a subject of England, to contribute my best endeavours to discover what laws and regulations were established in that kingdom, for the better preservation of peace, and the preventing of robberies. And
A 2 accordingly,

accordingly, from the best information I could procure from the laws themselves, and from the practical knowledge of those, whose duty it was to put them in execution, I there composed the following treatise. But as the renewal of war soon after put an end to all our parliamentary proceedings for the redressing the evils above complained of, it became unnecessary to offer these observations to the public, until the restoration of peace, which being now accomplished, it may be presumed, that our Legislature will re-assume the consideration of promoting the internal *police* of this kingdom, and more especially for preventing the robberies and outrages, which begin again to disturb the domestic peace of his Majesty's subjects.

That we may be apprised of the measures enforced in France to attain these salutary ends, I have divided the following narrative into distinct parts, resulting from the several objects of my enquiry, in order ;

First, To offer a general view of the several jurisdictions established in France for the administration of justice.

Next

Next, to give an account of the particular establishment of the *marechaussée* in each province, for the preservation of the peace, and the preventing of robberies in the highways.

And thirdly, to describe the regulations enforced at Paris for the like preservation of the peace, and the preventing of street robberies.

To which I have added a farther account of the *police* in that capital, with regard to the maintenance of their poor; the support of their hospitals; the duty of their magistrates in supplying wood and water, and other necessary provisions; the preventing of fires; the regulating the public companies; and the paving, cleaning and lighting the streets. I was the more induced to enter into this detail, as I was informed, that the making new regulations in some of these articles, had often been under the consideration of our Legislature.

And lastly, I have offered a few remarks on the extent and circumference of London and Paris, the number of their inhabitants, and the necessity of circumscribing the boundaries of each; concluding with an estimate of the expence of the
police

police at Paris, that at the same time that we view the order, which is there preserved, we may be apprised of the cost of maintaining it.

It may be necessary, before I enter into this account, to premise, that I do not offer it with a view of recommending it in every part, and in all respects. I am aware particularly, that the *mare-chauffée* in the provinces, and the watch-guard at Paris, go under the name of military establishments, and consequently cannot as such be imitated by our administration, under a free and civil constitution of government: yet I am not without hopes, that some observations may be collected from particular parts of their system, which may help to reform the abuses, that are complained of in our own. With regard to myself, I shall be sufficiently rewarded for my pains, should what I now publish conduce in any degree to the service of my country; for as it is my happiness to be a subject of England, I shall equally esteem it a glory to become an useful member to its community.

A General

P A R T I.

A General View of the several Jurisdictions established in *FRANCE*, for the Admini- stration of Justice.



IN order the better to distinguish the laws and regulations enforced in France for the preservation of the peace, it will be proper previously to take a general view of the several jurisdictions there established, for the administration of justice throughout the kingdom. To this purpose, let it be observed, that as France, in a geographical view, is divided into several provinces; so with regard to its civil government, it is divided into several circles, called *generalités*, which comprehend in some parts, only one province, in others, two or more, where the provinces are small; and where they are large, two or more *generalités* are comprehended within one province; so that, upon the whole, the kingdom is divided into about thirty of these distinct partitions, which are subdivided into lesser circles, in some parts called *diocesses*, in others *vigueries*, and in others *elections*; and these again into communities, towns and parishes. Over each *generalité* the King appoints an intendant, who resides in the capital city of his department,
under

under whom are a certain number of subdelegates, residing in the several divisions above-mentioned. These *generalités* are again distinguished under two denominations, some being called *païs d'état*, and others *païs d'élections*. The *païs d'état*, which are only few in number, contain those provinces which have been annexed to the crown in latter times, and which having been formerly distinct sovereignties, do still retain, or are supposed to retain, their antient privileges; the chief of which is that of levying their own annual revenues by the *taille réelle*, or tax on their landed estates, and granting the same to the King by the name of a *don gratuit*; whereas the *païs d'élections*, which are more numerous, being the antient patrimonies of the Kings of France, are subject alike to the *taille réelle* and *personnelle*, levied according to the arbitrary directions of the intendants, both upon the landed estates and personal properties of all the inhabitants, except the clergy and nobility. They are called the *païs d'élections*, because the lesser districts, into which they are divided, formerly elected their own assessors; but that privilege has long ago been taken away, and the name of it now only remains. From hence we may perceive, that these intendants, as representatives of the King's person in each province, are invested with a kind of sovereign authority, to interpose in whatever may be necessary for his Majesty's service: to which purpose, the office of the intendant is always open, to receive the complaints of public grievances, and to issue out the necessary precepts, for the regulation of the *police*.

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I am further to observe, that as this kingdom is separated into *generalités* for the regulation of the *police*, so it is again divided into military governments, to enforce the military service; and into archbishoprics, and suffragan diocesses, to support the ecclesiastical authority. The subordinate officers of these several divisions receive their orders from the superior of each department, who receives his from one or other of the five Secretaries of state; each of which superintends a certain number of these districts, besides his more immediate duty in some particular branch of the administration: which also is divided into several branches; so that the foreign affairs, the marine, the army, the finances, the civil government, and religion, are the separate official duties of different ministers, who lastly receive their orders from the King himself. Thus we see the government of this nation is carried on with the greater facility, by dividing it into several departments, with different officers, and distinct duties for the administration of each, dependant and relevant, through all the several degrees of subordination, to the sole and ultimate power of the King, who, in this country, is absolute, and unaccountable to any but the Supreme Power of all †.

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† The following are the fundamental maxims in France, upon which the King's prerogative is established.

1. Le Roi ne tient que de Dieu et de son épée.
2. Si veut le Roi, si veut la loi.
3. Toutes les personnes de son royaume lui sont sujettes.
4. Au Roi seul appartient de lever les tributs—de faire la guerre & la paix—
& de faire battre monnoie.
5. Le Roi est le principe & le terme de toutes les justices.
6. Le Roi seul peut accorder graces & remissions.

I shall now proceed to offer a general view of the several jurisdictions for the administration of justice in this kingdom, either in civil or criminal matters, according to the edicts, ordonnances and declarations of the King: these are issued by his sole authority, and at his pleasure; and being signed by him, and afterwards, by his order, registered in the courts of justice, called the Parliaments, obtain from thence the force and sanction of laws. An edict is that law, by which the King raises and levies all taxes, creates offices and jurisdictions, reforms all abuses, and enacts what punishment, fine or forfeiture shall be annexed to each. An ordonnance prescribes the forms and regulations necessary for carrying the laws into execution, relative either to the better order of the *police*, or the proceedings and practice of the courts of justice, or the discipline of the army, or for fixing the standard of measure, weight and fineness, of all saleable goods and manufactures. A declaration is only explanatory of any former law, either by way of amendment, addition or exception. To which may be added, the several arrets of council, and arrets of Parliament, which are occasionally issued; these are considered not as part of the laws of the land, but only as temporary rules and orders; and as such, the arrets of council may be compared to the proclamations of our King, or orders of the Privy Council; and the arrets of Parliament to the rules of our courts of justice, for enforcing the authority of their jurisdictions. How difficult then must it be, to obtain a knowledge of all these written laws, with their particular dates and various distinctions; and yet how much more perplexing, to arrive at the knowledge of that other branch of their unwritten laws,

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and general or local customs of their country ; each province having a separate *coutumier* relative to their tenures and inheritances. We must conclude therefore, that numbers of jurisdictions are established for the enforcing these laws, which, like their civil government, are divided into separate departments ; and composed of magistrates, with distinct powers of adjudging, according to the competency circumscribed to each.

To begin with the first distinction of superior and inferior courts, we are to observe, that next to the King's Councils of State, in which he himself presides, the courts of justice, called the Parliaments, are the chief and sovereign jurisdictions, which are divided into twelve departments, each containing within its ressort, one, two, or more provinces, and distinguished by the name of the town, in which their several seats of justice are now made sedantry, as the Parliament of Paris, of Rouen, Bourdeaux, Thoulouse, Aix, &c. I need mention no more of these sovereign courts, than that they are composed of different chambers, or courts of judicature, having several competencies of jurisdictions, both in civil and criminal matters ; and, when joined together, either to determine an appeal from the subordinate courts within their ressort, or to register the King's edicts, or letters patent, are then stiled a Court of Parliament. That of Paris has the pre-eminence above all others, as therein the King holds what is called, the Bed of Justice ; as the dukes and peers of the realm are members of it, and in all criminal accusations are adjudged by it ; and as it claims the peculiar

privilege of representing and remonstrating to the King, any ill effects of burthensome impositions, or public grievances.

Each Parliament has under its subordination a number of inferior courts of judicature, distinguished by the two titles of *justices royales*, and *justices seigneuriales*, both which are again subdivided into the several following competencies of jurisdictions.

For example, there is within the ressort of every Parliament, a number of inferior courts, called in some provinces *baillages* (bailiwicks) in others *seneſchauffées* (stewardships) invested alike with powers for the trial of all causes, civil and criminal, arising within the circle of their districts; which circles, each containing several towns and parishes, are more or less in number in every department, according to their own compass, or the extent of the sovereign court of Parliament, to which they are subordinate. We are informed from history, that their original establishment arose from certain judges or commissaries, formerly sent by the Kings of France, once a year, into all the provinces, which were then governed by their respective counts or earls, holding in fief under the King; and as these commissaries were duly to administer justice in his name, they were accordingly called the King's bailiffs or stewards; and in process of time, being ordered to remain in the provinces they were sent to, had, for the more easy execution of justice, a particular district allotted to each, called from thence his bailiwick or stewardship. The number of these magistrates were by degrees augmented; so that at present each of these jurisdictions is composed of a Lieutenant Civil, a Lieutenant Criminal, several Councillors, Solicitors, Registers, &c.

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After these are the inferior courts established in the great towns of each bailiwick, under the names of *prevotés* and *châtellanies*, which are invested with a jurisdiction, in the nature of a Mayor's Court in our corporations, to try small trespasses or disputes of trivial civil matters between the *roturiers* or commoners inhabiting within the town. The gentry or noblesse have the privilege to be amenable only to the superior court of the district, to which the commoner may also carry his appeal against any judgment given in the *prevoté*; but with regard to all affairs relating to the *police*, as the regulating the watch, paving the streets, &c. the city magistrates issue out their orders absolutely and without controul, in which they are assisted by a *lieutenant de police*, an office established in every great city of the kingdom, as well as at Paris.

Besides this ordinary duty as above-described of the *justices royales*, their magistrates are invested with the extraordinary power, of hearing appeals from the inferior courts of each, as to the judgments given in civil matters, and as to all complaints of the male administration of the subordinate magistrates; for it must be observed, that in all civil affairs, the appeal of a cause begun in any inferior court must be carried, *seriatim et gradatim*, through the different scales and degrees of all the superior jurisdictions one after the other, until it comes to be determined finally in the last sovereign court of the Parliament; but in any criminal cases adjudged in any inferior court whatever, from whence an appeal lies, it must be made, *per saltum et omisso medio*, directly to the Parliament.

To avoid therefore the delay and expence of suits trained on by these numerous appeals, and that the sovereign courts might

might not be troubled with frivolous and vexatious matters to the interruption of affairs of greater importance, another tribunal is established in each bailiwick, called the presidial court, for the determination of all suits in the *dernier ressort*, and without appeal; provided that in civil causes the value doth not exceed a certain limited sum; or that in criminal matters the case be *prevotal*, the nature of which I shall hereafter explain. The same magistrates of the bailiwick are judges also of the presidial court; only in giving their judgment, be it in the first instance, or on an appeal from any inferior court, they must certify, that it was given presidially, and there must be seven judges, at least, to sign such certificate.

These judicial offices, as well as the other employments in France, having been formerly purchased of the crown, and created *en titre d'office*, are venal, hereditary, and assignable; the King regranteeing them to the person petitioning to be admitted, if qualified, upon consideration of a fine, in proportion to the original purchase money, called the finance of the office, and paid on every new admission, whether it be by inheritance, or assignment. The sums thus advanced make no inconsiderable fund for the public revenues, under the title of the *parties casuelles*: but the salaries annexed to these offices, many of them superfluous, constitute a heavy part of the national debt of the kingdom.

Next to the *justices royales* are a number of other inferior jurisdictions, confined to each particular landed estate or manor, under the name of *justices seigneuriales*; there being no *seigneur*, or lord of a manor, who has not as incident to his estate,

estate, either the *haute*, the *moyenne*, or the *basse justice*, that is, a right in different degrees of holding a court, in the nature of our Court Leets, for the trial of certain crimes and trespasses committed on his lands. If he has only the *basse justice*, he has no other power than that of committing the offender to prison, to take his trial at some other superior court. If he has the *moyenne*, which takes in the former, he can order a corporal punishment. Lastly, If he has the *haute justice*, which comprehends the other two, he has the power of judging upon life and death, subject nevertheless to an appeal to the next Parliament. But although these *justices seigneuriales* may give pompous titles to an estate, for which a consideration is paid in the purchase; yet the power is seldom exercised, being generally transferred for want of competent judges to begin, in the first instance, at the next superior court of the *justice royale*.

But by whatever justice the accused are tried, be it *royale*, or *seigneuriale*, the prosecution must be carried on at the expence of the *partie civile*, as the injured party is called; or, in case of neglect or inability, at the sole charge of the lord on whose land the crime was committed, who often finds himself involved in an expence of 150 or 200 pounds sterling, only because a robbery was committed on his estate. This policy, however well intended to excite the vigilance of the lord of the manor, in preventing crimes being committed within the bounds of his jurisdiction, yet, when they have been committed, has oftentimes been the cause of a relaxation in the prosecution.

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From hence we may conjecture, that the backwardness of the subject, in carrying on prosecutions for offences, on account of the great charge attending the forms of the ordinary courts of judicature, might have been one of the reasons for attributing to other courts the cognizance of certain crimes to be prosecuted solely at the King's expence; and that in the next place, as the creating the presidial court, for the determination of certain civil causes without appeal, was found greatly conducive to the speedy execution of justice; so it might from hence be thought equally expedient, for the good of the public, to erect also a like court for the adjudication of certain criminal affairs, in the most speedy method, and without appeal.

To this purpose, the court of the *prevot* of the *marcchaussée*, or, as we call it, the Marshalsea Court, was established in every province, and the same *prevotal* jurisdiction was attributed and united to the court of the *chatelet* at Paris, with powers to pass final judgment without appeal, upon all crimes of robberies committed on the highways, or the streets of the city, if accompanied with assault or open violence. How far these jurisdictions have answered the salutary ends proposed by them, is to be described in the following Part.

It is foreign to my purpose, and much more out of the reach of my capacity, to explain the practice and various forms of proceedings in these courts of justice; and it is yet less necessary for me to do so, since our most excellent method of trials by juries so far exceeds all the methods of administration in other countries. Let it suffice in general to
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take notice, that, in every criminal prosecution, an Information must first be laid, charging the accused, and specifying the nature of the offence; according to which the court decretes a personal summons, or an arrest of the body, in case he be not taken in the fact: the prisoner is then to submit to the interrogations, and to be confronted by the witnesses; and when the evidence on both sides is reduced into writing, and the whole compacted together, the judges pronounce the sentence. Let me further remark, that whatever dilatory arts may be practised in the intermediate proceedings, yet when once a sentence is pronounced, the execution immediately follows; insomuch that it is common for a criminal to hear of his condemnation at twelve o'clock, and to be led to his execution at four; whether it be to be hanged, or broke upon the wheel.

By the execution following so immediately after the sentence, no hopes can be entertained of a pardon; the King himself having no time, unless a remission be previously granted, to exercise that darling attribute of mercy, which, according to the maxim before-noted, is solely the prerogative of his crown; and which is indeed the most precious jewel in the crown of every monarch.

Punishment ought only to follow the conviction of the crime; but it happens in this country, that penalties are sometimes inflicted, even upon the tryal, in order to arrive at the proof of the guilt; this is called, applying the question; that is, giving an intermediate order for the accused to undergo certain tortures, in order to extort a confession. This they pretend is only applied, when the circumstance is strong,

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the living witnesses are insufficient, to prove the guilt. The circumstantial evidence in that case, they say, is presumption sufficient to apply the question ; but if no confession follows, the question then destroys the presumption of the circumstance. However, this is at best but an equivocal method of arriving at the truth, since it is often found, that innocent people, under the extremity of pain, will confess themselves guilty, in order to be free from the torture ; which they again deny, as soon as they are at ease.

As punishments are due only upon the proof of the guilt, so ought they also to be adequate to the proportion of the crime ; therefore, upon small trespasses, small pecuniary fines are imposed ; but for misdemeanors tending to the scandal or disturbance of society, banishment is decreed, either for life or a certain limited time. A return before the expiration of the term, incurs a more severe penalty, provided it be proved before those judges who decreed the banishment ; since, by the rules of their courts, the infraction of an order can be cognizable only by that judicature, which denounced the original sentence.

But for greater misdemeanors, which not only create scandal to the publick, but injury to a private person, the offender is ordered to make what is called the *amende honorable*, that is, to be conducted to some church, attended by a priest, where kneeling before an altar, in his shirt, with a lighted torch in his hand, he with a loud voice is to acknowledge, that
 “ he falsely and against truth committed the crime laid to
 “ his charge, and for which he asks pardon of God ; of the
 “ King ; of the justice of his country ; and of the injured
 “ party”.

“ party”. The execution of this sentence, which must be complied with under severer penalties, is considered, notwithstanding its appellation of honour, to be a punishment of infamy, which renders the delinquent unqualified ever after to be admitted into the society of any honest people. The *amende honorable* is also enjoined to every one condemned to die, before he is carried to the place of execution. His own confession of the crime, for which he suffers, being deemed a point necessary to give a sanction to the justice of his condemnation.

I must now mention the heavy doom that is annexed to all offences, which are accounted flagrant, though under the degree of capital; such as insolent breaches of the peace; disrespect to the laws and religion of the country; cheating, poaching, smuggling, pilfering, and all such species of robberies, as are called petty larcenies; which being tryed at the ordinary courts of judicature, the offenders, in such cases, are usually condemned to the galleys, either for life, or a number of years. This method of punishment, however disagreeable it may be to our notions of liberty in England, is attended in France with many advantages to their government, by saving, and converting the lives of such criminals, once a nuisance to society, to become serviceable to the public; especially since new regulations have been established by the edict of the 27th of September 1748, which ordains, that these slaves shall not for the future be altogether confined at Marseilles, which was heretofore solely appropriated to this department, but shall be divided, and a part sent to the other sea ports of Toulon, Rochefort, and Brest, to yield

the assistance that may be wanted in those arsenals, towards building and repairing his Majesty's Ships of War. To this purpose, the number of criminals, condemned in all the different parts of France to be confined as above in these galleys, are, at certain seasons, collected from the several inland prisons, in the same manner as the felons to be transported, are in England, and brought, chained together, to the sea ports to which they are destined. These crews, whilst thus travelling linked together, are usually called, the Chains; but on their arrival at the sea ports, are called, *Forçats*, or *Galeriens*, where their punishment is no longer to consist in being tied to the oar, but is converted to more useful purposes, by being subservient to the *police* of that œconomy and discipline, by which the establishment is carried on. The edict above-mentioned, having ordered, that in every port, to which the Chains are to be sent, at the allotted times, they shall be distributed into three classes, according to their size, strength, and abilities. The more robust to work in their turns, one week in two, in the dock yards; the others, incapable of so hard labour, are to be instructed in the manufactures of making cordage and sail cloth; which are thus completed, in the several arsenals, as it were, almost gratis to the King, since the slaves are obliged to contribute their skill and industry for no other wages than a daily allowance of bread and water; the King bestowing no more, except to such as are destined to tasks of a laborious nature, he adds five sols *per diem*, towards the purchase of more solid provisions; who, by being on this account enabled to do more work, earn four times more to the King, than the amount

amount of this extraordinary allowance. Each wears a woollen jacket and a red cap, as the livery of his servile condition ; the expence of this is no more than the prime cost of the yarn, which some are made to spin, others to weave into cloth, and others to fashion into habits. Several of these slaves, who became so for slender offences, have liberty to work at any trade for their own advantage ; these are chained down in shops along the quays. Some are yet further indulged to walk about the town, but coupled together, with a guard to attend them. Others have the licence to go only with an iron ring round one of their ankles, who must have persons under bond to be responsible for their escape. All retire, at the close of the evening, to the place allotted for their lodging, whether it be on board the galleys, or in the *bagnes*, which are little barracks, built on the quays for that purpose. We may imagine these indulgences are only granted to those who are able to pay for them, which brings in such perquisites to the officers and superintendants, as to make a less salary necessary from the government. Those who are in only for a time, are discharged at the expiration of it, by the delivery of a certificate, specifying the nature of their offence, and of the atonement they have made for it ; which serves them as a pass from town to town, to the place of their birth, or former residence ; being first marked by a hot iron with the letter G, in the fleshy part of one of their shoulders, that in case of their being guilty afterwards of any other crime, with this mark found upon them, they may be punished in a severer manner.

Lastly, All capital crimes, whether adjudged by any of
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the inferior judicatures, or by the sovereign courts of Parliament upon appeal; as also all *prevotal* crimes, adjudged either by the presidial court, or the court of the *prevot* of the *marechaussée*, such as robberies on the highways, or in the streets of Paris, though of the most trifling value; or even a violent assault with an intent to rob; these are all punished with death, by the offenders being hanged or broke upon the wheel. If the robbery was accompanied with murder, or any other act of cruelty, the condemned, after having his limbs broke, is left to expire by the torture; but for an assault, or a robbery without any circumstance of cruelty, the *coup de grace* is commonly given.

In order to receive this dreadful punishment, the criminal after condemnation is brought to a scaffold, usually erected at the place nearest to where the crime was committed; where the judges who condemned him again assemble, at some convenient distance, to take down in writing his last confession and, the discovery of his accomplices, in case he offers to make any; being always exhorted thereto by the priest that attends him, and who refuses to give his absolution, although the prisoner has made the *amende honorable*, until he makes a discovery, or persists in declaring he had no accomplices: by these means, in the punishment of one criminal, they often arrive at the knowledge of many others.

After having offered this general survey of the jurisdictions established in France for the administration of justice, I shall proceed to describe that particular branch of their *police*, which is more immediately intended for the preservation of peace, and the preventing of robberies.

P A R T

P A R T II.

An Account of the Establishment of the *Marechaussée* in each Province in *FRANCE*, for the Preservation of the Peace, and the Pre- venting of Robberies on the Highways.



THE establishment of laws and courts of judicature for the preservation of peace, and the preventing of robberies, is a protection every government owes to the persons and properties of its subjects ; and I may venture to say the laws intended for that purpose are no where better enforced than in the provinces of France, by the present establishment of what is called the *marechaussée*.

This I must first explain to be a jurisdiction dependant on the court of the constable and marshals of France ; of whose history and antiquity I need make no other mention, than that it was originally erected to take cognizance of all crimes committed by men at arms or soldiers in the King's service, either in the field, or garrison, or in going thither, or returning from thence ; as may be seen in the twelve fundamental articles of its establishment in 1356.

As there was from hence a power, incident to this jurisdiction, of taking up all deserters from the army, wherever they should

should be found ; and of punishing all outrages of the soldiers, wherever committed ; its competency became in time to be extended to take cognizance of all public disturbances by force of arms, and of all assaults, robberies and murders committed on the highways, even by persons not enlisted in the military service.

Accordingly this court began to have a kind of mixt jurisdiction, between a court martial and a civil judicature ; consisting of officers and soldiers to pursue and apprehend the criminals ; and of magistrates to try and adjudge them. Each distinct employment was formerly held by the King's commission, during pleasure ; but at length these commissions were erected, *en titre d'office*, inheritable in their families, and saleable like all other venal employments in the kingdom, with fixt salaries, and peculiar privileges, granted from time to time by numbers of subsequent edicts and declarations. The ordonnances likewise for regulating their jurisdiction were almost as numerous as the laws against the crimes they were to punish, intended chiefly to circumscribe the powers, direct the functions, and adjust the differences which occasionally happened, concerning the rights and pre-eminencies of the different magistrates. For the authority of this jurisdiction, issuing originally from the high court of the constable and marshals of France, could not be exerted throughout the kingdom, but by being delegated to numbers of magistrates, settled in the chief towns of all the provinces, under various denominations, which, from the want of such officers in England, I must set down by their original names of *prévôts généraux*,

generaux, prévôts provinciaux, vice senechaux, lieutenants criminels de robe courte, assesseurs, &c.

But it happened that such a multiplicity of employments, instead of suppressing the evils, as intended, rather occasioned a confusion in the exercise of the duty, and by degrees a total neglect of it ; infomuch that at the latter end of the reign of Lewis the XIVth, especially upon disbanding the troops after the peace of Utrecht, the highways became so infested with brigands of robbers, as to demand some more effectual regulations for the maintenance of the public security.

Whereupon, in the year 1720, an edict was published, which fixed the officers of the *marechaussée* throughout the kingdom under a new model, reciting in the preamble,
 “ That the number of these different officers, under so many
 “ various titles as above-mentioned, had only given rise to
 “ contests amongst themselves, upon pretext of their inde-
 “ pendancy upon one another : and that likewise the scan-
 “ tiness of the salaries allowed to the * archers, and the
 “ little exactness in the payment, had obliged them to attach
 “ themselves to other employments, and thereby occasioned
 “ such a relaxation in their discipline, and the service to
 “ which they were destined, as to make it indispensably ne-
 “ cessary to apply a remedy”.

Accordingly all the employments under the former establishment, by whatever titles created, were by this edict
 D suppressed,

* The appellation of archers is given to the private men belonging to the *marechaussée*, probably from their being armed with bows and arrows, before the use of fire arms came into practice.

suppressed, except only the officers and archers of the company particularly belonging to the constable and marshals of France, as also of the company doing duty in the districts round about the city of Paris. However, those who were thus deprived of their employments, which they or their ancestors had purchased, were permitted to bring in their account of the original cost or finance before commissaries, who were appointed to settle the value of the indemnity, which was reimbursed by a fund raised and destined for that purpose.

In the room of these, the King created in every *generalité* of the kingdom, one company of *maréchaussée*, to be composed of a *prevot general*, a number of lieutenants, assessors, King's attorneys and registers; with exempts, brigadiers, sub-brigadiers, archers and trumpets; according to a stated number to be distributed into different brigades in each department.

These companies are declared to be part of the King's *gendarmerie*; the *prevots généraux*, and their lieutenants, to be nominated by the King, and to be experienced in military affairs, by having served at least four years in his Majesty's troops. The subalterns to be recommended by the *prevots*, and all hold their offices by commission under the great seal issuing from the war-office, and registered in the court of the marshals of France, as dependant on that jurisdiction; and, in consideration of the perpetual service they are to perform, are exempted from the quartering of soldiers, and all other public burthensome charges.

As to the jurisdiction of the *marechaussée*, nothing is changed by this edict; the new officers are empowered to take cognizance of the same matters, and in the same form as prescribed by all former ordonnances, and particularly by the ordonnance of 1670.

Having thus given a short history of the establishment of this jurisdiction, I must now enter into a more particular relation of the manner of its execution; a point generally the most difficult.

To this purpose, since this office consists, as I observed at the beginning, of a mixed duty, on the one part to apprehend the criminals, and on the other to adjudge them; it will, I presume, be my best method, first, to describe in what manner they execute the military part of their duty in pursuing and taking the offenders; and then proceed to explain the form of their judicature, and the manner of trial.

We find the *marechaussée* is now composed of several companies distributed throughout the kingdom, one in every *generalité*, of which there being thirty, so consequently there must be as many companies; over each of which there is a *prevot general*, who constantly resides in one of the principal towns of his department, under whom are two or more lieutenants residing in some of the other districts: these command the exempts, and these again command the several brigades into which the company is divided, having more or less in proportion to the extent of the *generalité*; and though each brigade consists of five, namely, an exempt and four archers; yet, there being different numbers of brigades in each department, their companies must consequently be com-

posed of different numbers of men : but as in some departments they have 24 brigades, or 120 men ; and in others not above 18 brigades, or 90 men ; so estimating one company with another to have 20 brigades, or 100 men ; and there being 30 companies, it may be computed that there are 3000 men in all, which make up the whole body of the *marcebauffée* ; over whom there are five inspectors, nominated by the King, out of the *prevots generaux*, who take their rounds in different circuits each year, to review the several companies, and see that they are all complete, and properly quartered.

There are two treasurers, who, paying 200,000 livres, or 8750 pounds sterling for their office, have a salary each of 437 pounds 10 shillings *per annum*. These treasurers receive the pay and subsistence, due to the several brigades of all the departments, from the receiver general of each province according to the accounts they bring in, verified by the agent of the *marcebauffée*, and are paid every three months from the produce of the funds that are destined for that purpose ; or, in case of deficiency, from the general revenues of the province. The salary to the officers of these corps is fixed in proportion to the sums originally paid for the purchase of their commissions : for example ; the *prevot*, purchasing at 40,000 livres, or 1750 pounds sterling, receive 175 pounds a year ; the lieutenants, purchasing at 15,000 livres or 656 pounds sterling, receive about 65 pounds *per annum* ; and the Archers are paid at the rate of about 30 pounds *per annum* each. From hence therefore we may estimate

estimate the revenues in general that are annually raised to support this military establishment, namely,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The pay to the <i>prevot</i> — — —	175	0	0
To the two lieutenants at 65 pounds each	130	0	0
To 100 archers at 30 pounds each —	3000	0	0
Sum total to each brigade — —	3305	0	0

The sum of 3305 pounds being paid to each brigade in every department, and there being 30 departments, makes the whole amount to 99350 pounds sterling *per annum*.

The exempts and archers are, for the most part, veteran troopers, who, when disbanded from the King's service, make interest to be put upon this, as their perquisites, which will hereafter be mentioned, are equal to their salaries; out of which they are bound to find themselves with a good horse and accoutrements. They wear an uniform of blue cloth, lined and turned up with red; laced hats, and buff bandeliers laced with silver; their housings blue. The officers wear the same uniform, only distinguished with more or less lace, according to their ranks. As these troops are declared to be a part of the King's *gendarmerie*, they are intitled to be received into the invalids at Paris, when rendered incapable of service, either by old age or accident.

Being divided into different brigades, they are quartered in the several towns within their department, as near as possible, at equal distances: so as not to be more than half a day, from the one to the other; from whence it is their duty to set out every day on horseback; the one day from one side

of the town, and the next from the other ; so that one brigade going towards the East or South, according as the road lies, may meet at the extremity of their patrol the other brigade, that sets out at the same time towards the West or the North ; and the next day, each going the opposite ways, again meet with the other brigades, setting out to meet them, in the like manner, from the other sides ; so that each brigade is alternately to meet, every other day, the one and the other, that are quartered on each side in the adjoining districts : by this communication they are able to carry on a string of intelligence, from one extremity of their department, and, I may say, from one extremity of the kingdom, to the other. It is by these means especially, that they inform one another of all public disorders, robberies, or other crimes, that have been committed in their own, or in any distant districts ; and in case of the offenders having escaped, can transmit the description of his person for each to search and apprehend him. This intelligence is also communicated in another yet shorter method, by sending the description, or *signalement*, as it is called, of the fugitive, to the public office of the *marechaussée* at Paris, where it is immediately printed, and a proper number of bills sent by the post to every *prevot general*, in their several departments, who disperse them to their several brigades : thus, within a few days, notice of the crime, and a description of the criminal, are signified all over the kingdom to those very officers, whose duty it is to apprehend them. It is by this method likewise that they generally find out and retake all deserters from the army. So that it is scarcely possible for an offender of any kind whatever

ever to shelter himself from justice, throughout the circumference of this wide and extended kingdom.

Having described the order and distribution of these Archers of the *marechaussée*, it will be necessary next to be informed of the service they perform, with the extent of their power, and the manner of exerting it.

I have mentioned it, as their duty, to be upon the patrol every day of the year; but it is not pretended, that they actually are so. It has however its effect, in striking a terror, by its being known, that they frequently do it at stated times, on private notice to each other: especially they are out at all times when any public disorders may be suspected; as upon the march of any troops from quarter to quarter; at the times of any great fairs, kept at any town or district within their department. They are likewise upon duty upon every progress that the King, or any prince of the blood, may make in any part of the kingdom. They escort through their bounds, all governors of provinces, and all generals in chief, repairing to the places of their command. They guard the receivers of the public revenues; and, if required, are ready to do the same to any travellers, apprehensive of danger, upon notice given, and the payment of a certain price fixed at so much per league.

But it is chiefly to be remarked, that this body of 3000 disciplined men, divided and distributed as above-described, are more immediately enlisted into the public service, to be in a kind of perpetual war, not against a foreign enemy, but against such of the native subjects as disturb the peace, and violate the laws of their country; and who, as such,
must

must be deemed common enemies to all society. Happy therefore is it for the honest part of mankind, to find so formidable a force, ready to fight their quarrels, and protect their properties.

I have taken notice, that this jurisdiction was formerly established to take cognizance only of crimes committed by soldiers marching to or from their camps or garrisons; a necessary establishment surely for such a military government as this of France; where the troops, so frequently passing from one quarter to another, would expose the inhabitants to grievous inconveniences without such a protection. We have a testimony of this from the preambles of the several ancient edicts, and declarations, which first attributed this jurisdiction to the *marechaussée*, wherein are set forth, in strong colours, the disorders and devastations committed by the licentiousness of the troops in those times; whereas now, the greatest order and decency is observed in every march; for notice of it being sent to the *prevot* of every department through which they are to pass, it is his duty to assign them their quarters in all the principal towns, whilst the brigades of Archers are dispersed, some in the highways, and others in the villages round about, to pick up all lurkers behind, or stragglers out of the way, and conduct them to their proper companies. Thus they prevent the disorderly soldiers both from deserting, and from committing any insult or outrage to the people of the country.

But as it is not to soldiers only, merely as such, that disorders of this kind are to be imputed; the powers of the *marechaussée* are farther extended to examine all suspected strangers,

strangers, wandering through the provinces as vagabonds, or not having any visible means of livelihood ; who not giving a satisfactory account of themselves, are to be carried to the public workhouse of the city next adjoining, or passed on to the place of their birth, or last habitation.

Again, these archers, being supposed to be always out upon the watch in the highways and open fields ; are obliged to advance towards all persons they see with guns or engines for the destruction of the game ; to enquire if they have any permission from the King, or deputation from the proprietor of the soil ; for it is well known that large forests, and numbers of districts, called *capitaineries*, are peculiarly reserved, as the royal hunt, for the King's diversions ; and it must be observed, that no subject has a right of killing game, except only upon his own estate ; or by virtue of some privilege of chace paramount over the lands of others ; but this however is always limited to certain seasons, and to particular boundaries. These limitations, a qualified sportsman in England, may perhaps disapprove, as restrictive of that general liberty he claims, of traversing over any man's grounds in pursuit of his game ; but in France, whatever game is found on the lands of any one, is deemed to be as much his property, and as part of the profits of his estate, whilst it there continues, as the deer in his park, or the fowls in his poultry yard. Upon which I must beg leave to remark, that the privilege of chace being in this manner confined to fixed boundaries, prevents, in the first instance, all disputes amongst the gentlemen in the same neighbourhood on account of interrupting each other's sport ; and, in the next place, pre-

serves that prodigious quantity of hares and partridges, which we may find in all the provinces universally distributed, without any restraint of sale. In aid of this, it is the duty of the *marechaussée*, by virtue of several ordonnances, to seize upon all common poachers, and conduct them to prison; from whence, upon conviction, they are condemned to the galleys.

But upon the whole, the most material part of their duty, is to pursue and apprehend all open and violent transgressors of the laws, either by assaults, robberies, or murders committed on the highways, or in the villages; and, in general, to oppose themselves against any of the King's subjects appearing any-where in open arms, or tumultuously assembling together in disturbance of the peace: and to encourage them in the pursuit of such offenders, the King grants them a recompence, upon every conviction, of one hundred livres; being near five pounds sterling, out of the revenues of the province, over and above their salaries; but if the convict was taken by other persons, the like reward is transferred to them, and paid out of a stoppage from the salaries of the *marechaussée*. Thus are they incited to be the more vigilant and active, as, on the one hand, they have a reward for the performance of their duty; and, on the other, suffer doubly by the neglect of it. I have only to add, that, upon apprehending any offender, they have a power to handcuff and conduct him to the next prison, belonging to the ordinary jurisdiction of the districts in which the crime was committed, and then to give notice to the chief magistrate presiding therein; or, if it be a crime within the competence of their own court of judicature, they must immediately send notice to their *prevot general*, or one of his lieutenants, which ever may be nearest,

nearest, who is bound, within the space of 24 hours, to repair to the same place, in order to proceed to tryal.

This leads me to the consideration of the second branch of this office, in which I am to explain the nature and power of its civil jurisdiction.

For the better explanation of this, I thought it proper, in order not to interrupt the connection of the present subject, to prefix a short introduction, giving a general account of the administration of justice throughout the kingdom, as it is delegated to numbers of distinct jurisdictions: amongst these we must remember, that there is in each *generalité*, the court of the *prevot* of the marshals of France; the civil branch of which judicature derives its power from particular edicts, and consequently, can extend it only to such crimes, as therein are assigned to it, and which therefore are called *prevotal* cases; a distinction now to be entered into, and described more at large.

The *prevot general*, or one of his lieutenants, having notice, as above, of an offender's being taken up for a crime, committed in any village, or on the highway, within his department; immediately repairs to the presidial chamber of the same district, where he is to summon six of the magistrates of that jurisdiction, residing in the neighbourhood, to assist him in forming that tribunal, which is to consist of seven, at least; of which the *prevot general*, or his lieutenant, must be one. Those who are thus summoned, are bound, under a certain penalty, to attend. And although this tribunal is held usually in the presidial chamber, and composed chiefly of magistrates belonging to it; yet as the *prevot ge-*

neral presides, it is called his court; and the proceedings are carried on, and the final judgment given, in his name, and by his authority. The *assesseur* prepares the evidence, the *greffier* makes up the record, and the *procureur du Roi* opens to the court the nature of the offence.

The first point previously examined is, whether the case be *prevotal*, that is, a case cognizable by this court; for if there be any room to doubt it, the prisoner is instructed to form his objection against the competency of a jurisdiction, from whence there is no appeal to any other.

Now with regard to the point of competency, we are to recollect, that the edict of 1720, which I have recited at length, changes no part of this jurisdiction, but empowers the officers to take cognizance of the same matters prescribed by all former edicts, and particularly by that of 1670. This edict is particularly referred to, because it is that which first in general described their competency in the several cases set forth in the XIIth article of the first title, and in the several subsequent articles of the second title, being little necessary for me to transcribe, since the nature of this jurisdiction has been more amply explained by the declaration registered the 5th of February 1731, which, in a particular manner, describes the *quality* of the persons, and the *species* of the crimes, that are liable to come under the sentence of this court of final judicature.

In the first place, it confirms to the *prevot* of the marshals, an authority over all vagabonds and abandoned people, having no settlements, nor means of subsistence, nor capable of procuring, from any persons of credit, a certificate of their mo-
rals

als and good behaviour. The *marcehauffée* are to take up all under this description, even though they are not accused of any crime or misdemeanor : as also all sturdy beggars, who may be in the same case, to be dealt with according to the edicts, ordonnances and declarations against begging, &c.

Secondly, it allows to this court a power of examining those who have before been condemned to any corporal punishment, banishment, or the *amende honorable* ; but then restrains it to take cognizance of only the infraction of that banishment, which itself had denounced ; according to the general rule of all the jurisdictions, as I mentioned in the first part.

Thirdly, its authority extends over all soldiers, as well on their march, as at their quarters ; or at the place of rendezvous ; or where they halt during their march : also over all deserters from the army, or those who favoured their desertion, although these should not belong to the army.

All these cases, in the three preceeding articles, are accounted *prevotal*, only on account of the *quality* of the persons accused.

The declaration then proceeds to explain the *prevotal* cases, which are so by the *nature* of the *crimes* themselves ; namely, robberies on the highway ; all thefts by breaking open, when accompanied by bearing arms, and using public violence ; or where the infraction shall appear to have been made through the walls of an enclosure, or the top of a house, or the doors or outward windows, even though the same should not be done by force of arms, or open violence ; sacrilege accompanied by the circumstance above-marked of thefts by breaking open ; all seditions, popular commotions, gathering

gathering together, or unlawful assemblies with arms ; levying of soldiers without the King's commission ; coining, or uttering false money.—Provided nevertheless, that no other species of crimes than these above-marked are to be deemed by their nature to be *prevotal* : provided also, that the *prevot* of the marshals is not to take cognizance even of these so described, if committed in the towns or suburbs in which he and his lieutenants keep their residence.

After having thus explained the competency of the *prevotal* jurisdiction, the declaration proceeds to confirm the same competency in the presidial court, agreeably to the original edict of 1551, called the edict *des presidiaux*, with an exception nevertheless of what may relate to deserters from the army, or those who may suborn or favour such deserters, over whom the *prevots* of the marshals have the sole jurisdiction, in exclusion to all the ordinary courts of justice : and next, with this restriction, that the presidial is authorised to enquire only into such *prevotal* cases, where the matter in question, be it of the quality of the person, or the nature of the crime, took its rise within the district of the *baillage* or *seneschall*, in which the presidial is established : to which this farther distinction may be added, that as the court of the *prevot* of the marshals is chiefly intended for the tryal of *prevotal* crimes committed in the villages, or on the highways, being excluded, as above, from exercising their jurisdiction within the towns of their residence ; so the presidial court, to remedy this defect, seems chiefly intended for the tryal of the same crimes committed within those towns.

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The several subsequent articles of this declaration are intended to settle many other distinctions, with respect to cases being part *prevotal*, and part not so : as also about the forms and methods of proceeding : and lastly, concerning the concurrent jurisdictions of the several courts. These have not thought necessary to transcribe, as bearing no relation to the constitutional forms of our courts, so shall observe no more upon this head, than that to avoid the disputes which might happen about the preference of these concurrent powers, which generally tend to the delay or obstruction of justice, it is decided by the above declaration, that if a complaint of a *prevotal* case, cognizable in both courts, should happen to be made to the presidial before it be made to the *prevoté*, or even if it be lodged there the same day, the judge of the presidial shall keep possession of the trial in preference to the *prevot* of the marshals.

However, this is the same in effect, with regard to the prisoner ; for since each court has an equal jurisdiction, their judgment is alike final, and without appeal. But there may be some difference to the prisoner, if both these courts should neglect the complaint, and it should be brought to be tried at the *baillage* or *seneschall* ; for in such case, though that court also may take cognizance of *prevotal* crimes, yet it must adjudge them by the same authority as it adjudges other crimes, from whence consequently an appeal will lie to the superior court of Parliament.

But to return ; supposing the complaint duly made at the court of the *prevot general*, and the case adjudged *prevotal*, which must be three days after the complaint is lodged, the
accused

accused is then to be apprised under what circumstances he, or his crime, is declared to be within the competency of that jurisdiction, that accordingly he may prepare for his defence, against the final judgment to be given thereon, without appeal, and without pardon.

The forms of the proceedings are the same as in all other criminal cases, and which I have described in my account of the courts of justice established throughout the kingdom. But here I must particularly take notice, that the archers of the *marechaussée*, though they are entitled to a reward upon the conviction, yet are allowed to give their evidence upon the trial, as to the manner they were called upon by the public outcry, to apprehend the prisoner; whether he fled, and what resistance he made to avoid being taken; for such resistance is always construed to be an open violence, and at once makes the case *prevotal*, although the crime originally might not have been so.

Upon the sentence being pronounced, there is an end of this court, which has authority only over the crime: the goods and chattels therefore of the prisoner, which, upon conviction, are forfeited to the King, must be delivered to the judge of the ordinary jurisdiction of the district wherein this court was held, who is bound to account for the same to the officers of the *domaine*, as the body must be delivered to the executioner of the same district, who is bound immediately to perform the execution.

By this account of the *marechaussée*, it appears to be an establishment chiefly intended for the safe-guard and protection of honest men against any violent assaults or robberies on the highways;

highways; to which purpose, a select body of men are disciplined and armed with power to oppose force to violence, and speedy justice to flagrant crimes. For I must observe, that in France there is no such ministerial peace officer as a constable, whose authority is so essentially necessary for the execution of our laws; instead of which, they have here selected, as above-described, a body of men in arms, who, deriving their commissions from the great constable and marshals of France, may be considered as so many military constables. But such an establishment is not to be imitated in our land of liberty, where the injured and oppressed are to seek for no other protection, but that which the law ought only to afford, without flying for aid to a military power; a remedy dangerous, and perhaps worse than the disease. However it may be taken into consideration, whether a select body of men might not be appointed in each of our counties, under the same discipline and economy as the *maréchaussée* in France, but subservient wholly to the civil power, whose sole duty should be to patrol, in the manner above-mentioned, from town to town, in order to protect the innocent travellers from all assaults or robberies on the highways: and also to aid the peace-officers, in pursuing and apprehending such offenders on every public outcry, and conduct them to the common goals to be tried in the ordinary course of justice, to be duly administered at the quarter sessions, or by the judges in their several circuits throughout the kingdom. Such a patrol at least seems more immediately necessary in the adjacent parts of our great metropolis, in and about which, as in all other capitals, assaults and robberies are more frequently

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continued

committed than in the highways at a greater distance : these dangers and mischiefs, notwithstanding all former precautions, having been of late greatly increased in London, his Majesty has been pleased to recommend to both Houses of Parliament, to continue their earnest attention to the important object of reforming such abuses, intimating, that every body should contribute their best endeavours towards it *. In pursuance therefore of so general a recommendation, I have, during my present residence at Paris, taken some farther pains to be informed of the regulations enforced, for preserving the peace, and preventing robberies in the streets of this capital.

* See the King's speeches, November 14, 1751, and November 15, 1753.

P A R T III.

An Account of the Regulations enforced in the City of *PARIS*, for the Preservation of the Peace, and the Preventing of Street Robberies.



AFTER having given an account of the *marechaussée* established in all the provinces of France, I shall now endeavour to describe the *police* and government of Paris, established for the like preservation of the peace, and the preventing of robberies in the streets of that city. In doing this, I shall confine myself to speak only of its civil administration; as it will be foreign to my subject, to take any notice of the ecclesiastical, or of the military government; the first being under the direction of the archbishop, and the other under the command of a military governor.

The civil government of Paris is, in general, delegated to one of the ministers of state, who has the superintendency of this city, as part of the charge of his ministry; and, as herein he represents the power of the King, all the inferior offices, and employments necessary for the conservation of the peace, are subservient to him; and he decides all matters

relating thereto, without appeal : but since this duty is but a part of his ministry, he can give only a part of his time to it, and accordingly holds his public audience but once a week, chiefly to receive the reports of the subordinate magistrates ; to redress the complaints that may be made of their administration ; and to issue out his orders upon such affairs, as may require his ultimate decision.

We must proceed therefore to an examination of the duty of the inferior officers, in their due series of subordination ; and from thence survey the chain of this government, and the particular links of which it is composed ; for since public order is always best maintained by sub-divisions of the general duty, the well-regulated *police* of this capital is principally owing to the designation of numbers of magistrates, divided into separate quarters, mutually dependant on each other, subservient and accountable alike to one chief, and assisted by menial officers and guards that are common to all.

For example ; although the minister above-mentioned may be said rather to supervise the officers of the *police*, than the *police* itself ; yet his substitute, who is called the *lieutenant de police*, is charged with the immediate execution of the laws themselves, relative to the preservation of the peace. He holds his office by the King's appointment, and at the King's pleasure ; and consequently, must make it his chief duty to attend the orders of the court ; to be exact in apprehending all the suspected enemies of the government ; and secret and subservient to the ministry in every part of his administration.

Thus far he is to be considered as an officer of the court : his next duty as a magistrate of the city, pursuant to the
edict

edict of 1667, by which this office was created, extends to the suppressing of all tumults, seditions, and disorders; houses of ill fame, and unlawful games. He is to give his directions upon all inundations of the river, or accidents by fire. To him belongs the right of visiting the fairs, markets, public halls, inns, tipling-houses, and sellers of wine: and it is he that orders in what manner, and from whence, the supply shall be made of all sorts of necessary provisions, that are to be brought by land-carriage. What come by water are under the jurisdiction of the *prevot des marchands*; whose separate function I shall hereafter describe.

It is the *lieutenant de police* also, that has the examination of all printed papers in single sheets; which cannot be dispersed without the authority of his licence: by virtue of this, he has a controul over the Gazettes, news-papers, and the *colporteurs* or hawkers of the same: as also over all the ballads and ballad-fingers; so that nothing of this kind, that is libellous or seditious, either contrary to good morals, or against the government, is ever permitted to be publicly sold, or sung about the streets.

This magistrate likewise presides at the elections of the masters, wardens and syndics of the several communities of arts and mysteries; binding of apprentices; the reception, or, as we term it, the admitting of persons to the freedom of particular companies; the visitation of their manufactures, and the statutes and regulations concerning the due standard and quality of the same, are all under his jurisdiction; and it is he, that settles the amount of the pole-tax, or capitation, that is payable by each community.

After

After having considered the duty of this officer, as a magistrate invested with authority to issue out his orders for the regulation of the *police*, I must proceed to describe the several powers he is armed with, as incident to the authority of his office, for the due execution of those orders. This is the most material consideration for us, as it is not the want of good laws, but a defect in the execution, that occasions those disorders in our metropolis, which are so effectually suppressed in this.

To this purpose, the *lieutenant de police* may be found sitting every day, either at his own house, or at the *chatelet*, in his judicial capacity, upon the accusation of all misdemeanors, crimes, felonies, or other outrageous violences; all which, upon the accused persons being brought before him, he tries, in the first instance, in a summary manner; and for light and trivial offences, either reprimands and dismisses; or orders reparation to be made to the party injured; or commits those who have no visible means of livelihood, to be kept to hard labour in the general hospital, as it is here called; upon which establishment, I shall presently make my remarks more at large. But such as are brought before him accused of more flagrant crimes, and deserving more exemplary punishment, these he commits to the prison of the *chatelet*, or the *fort evêque*, being the two great public prisons in this city, to take their trials at a more formal and superior court of judicature, at which he also assists, once a month, to execute another branch of his commission, of which I shall, in due order, give a brief account.

Upon

Upon thus enumerating the several branches of this office, it may readily be supposed, that the duty must be too great, for the most laborious and vigilant magistrate, without the assistance of divers other inferior officers, who being distributed in different quarters of the city, and having a share allotted to each, the several parts of the burthen may be divided, and the whole sustained by the united endeavours of all, agreeably to the observation I have made before.

Therefore, for the better accelerating of justice, the city being divided into twenty quarters, two or three commissaries are appointed in each, always to be near at hand, to take cognizance of all accidental injuries, insults, robberies, &c. that may chance to be committed within their particular districts. These commissaries, being forty-eight in number, are in the nature of justices of peace within their several divisions; not that I presume to put them upon the rank of our justices of peace, or of the aldermen of the several wards of London; since here, instead of being promoted to their office on account of their fortunes or abilities, they purchase the employment in order to live on the perquisites it may yield: but though the employment is of no high rank, yet it is their *only* employment, and their whole time is given up in duly discharging the duties of it. They are ready to attend upon every complaint of the breach of the peace; they interpose their authority upon all tumults, quarrels, or riots in the streets; they frequently go the rounds of their quarters, both by night and by day, assisted by a sufficient escort; sometimes upon information; and sometimes only upon suspicion; in search of concealed rogues, unlawful assemblies of gamesters,

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loose women, and such as have no visible means of honest livelihood. They have a power upon the spot to examine these when discovered, to take the testimonies of the witnesses present, and upon proof of the allegation, to send the parties, either to the general hospital, or to the public prison, for further trial: of all these transactions, and even of the smallest matter of complaint that is brought before them, they are obliged to render an account to the *lieutenant de police*.

Besides this part of their duty, they keep a kind of registry office of all the public hotels and lodging-houses within their district; the landlords of which are obliged to give in the names and qualities of every lodger upon his first arrival, and immediate notice when he departs: and, as the commissaries transmit these registries monthly to the public office of the *lieutenant de police*, every unsettled stranger may be traced, from his leaving of one abode to his taking up another, either by his name; or, if that be changed, by the description of his person: so that it is very difficult for suspected persons, by thus being hunted from place to place, to lie long concealed. I must observe further, that every landlord, that lets out ready-furnished lodgings for hire, without registering his house at the commissaries, is liable to a very severe fine; or if the commissary, upon search, shall discover any assemblies in those lodging-houses playing at unlawful games, the landlord is punished by fine or imprisonment, for not having given previous notice; and the lodger, for having permitted the same in his apartment, is fined 3000 livres, and banished the city.

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I must add, that the commissaries, besides their jurisdiction in criminal affairs, make part of the civil jurisdiction of the *chatelet*, as inferior officers to the lieutenant civil, who is the chief judge of that court; and as one branch of his duty is to take the probates of all wills and testaments, so it is the duty of these commissaries, to examine and take the inventories that are to be made by all executors and administrators. The profit of this charge, what with fees and perquisites, is estimated at 6000 livres, or about 260 pounds sterling a year, and is usually purchased at the rate of 30,000 livres, which is near to the amount of 1200 guineas

But to arrive at a closer discovery of persons, any ways transgressing the orders established for the government of the city, twenty other inferior officers are appointed, one for each quarter, called the *inspectors* of the *police*; to be assistant to the commissaries, by their information of all abuses and irregularities committed within their respective districts. These, in pursuance of the edict of March 1740, for their creation, and regulating their duties, are distributed in the several quarters of the city and suburbs, to give an account of all nuisances in the public streets, either by dirt, rubbish, or bad pavement; whether any houses are ruinous, and likely to fall; and whether the lanthorns at night be duly lighted at the proper hours. And as I have mentioned above, that the commissaries transmit the registers of all the lodgers within their districts, to the *lieutenant de police*, once a month; so it is the business of these inspectors, to visit the public hotels, and ready-furnished lodgings, every day; to take an account of the name, country, and quality of every new-comer; and

of the time of his departure ; which they immediately carry to the commissary : they endeavour likewise to discover, whether such lodgers give a true account of themselves, and really are what they pretend to be ; and pry, as much as possible, into the nature of their business and employment, and the manner of their lives and conversations.

The salary to these officers is paid out of a monthly duty of 20 sols upon every great hotel, 10 sols upon every house, and 5 sols on every dealer in second-hand goods : over and above which, there is an annual gratification of 4000 livres, which is 175 pounds, to be taken out of the fund that is raised by the fines paid at the *chatelet*, which the *lieutenant de police* has a power of distributing, as he shall think proper, amongst such of these officers, as shall distinguish themselves by their diligence, in the execution of their duty ; which they must perform personally, and, upon any neglect, are punishable, either by fine or suspension. But since all regulations are liable to abuse, it is easy to be conceived, that these people, who purchase their employments, make an ill use of their power, by taking bribes to conceal those very people, against whom they ought to inform. Accordingly, such perquisites, added to the amount of the above monthly duty, which is divided amongst them, make the employment so profitable, that it is generally sold for about five hundred pounds sterling.

Besides these public informers, for they are looked upon in that light, it is well known, that the ministry employ numbers of private spies, or flies, as they are generally called ; who are buzzing about in all coffee-houses, and places of
public

public resort, to take an account of the conversation of people, what rumours are spread abroad, and what reflections made, either upon the administration, or the persons employed in it. The malecontents are thus discovered, and oftentimes unexpectedly taken up and imprisoned, as sowers of sedition, on account of some imprudent and unguarded expressions.

Next to the inspectors, are the *exempts de police*, fifty in number; the duty of these is to promote the due observance of the regulations established for the maintenance of order in all public places; they direct the coachmen in the streets upon any stop to back, or give way, so as may best clear the passage; and oblige the drivers of carts to walk close to the head of their horses, the better to prevent any accident of running over the people. They take up ballad-singers, who presume to sing any songs, that have not been licensed; examine the pamphlets carried about by the hawkers, in search of such as are prohibited to be sold. They immediately repair to any croud or mob gathering in the streets, and lay their hands on those, who, by any turbulent behaviour, gave occasion to it. They are likewise dispersed in the churches, in the public gardens, and at the several play-houses, where they have a power to seize and turn out such as presume to behave in a manner unbecoming that decency and decorum, which ought ever to be preserved in places of general resort.

To the same purpose, the late ordonnance of the 25th of April, 1751, has established a guard of soldiers, taken from the French foot guards, that are quartered at Paris; who are upon duty every night at the French and Italian comedies, whilst the guard, belonging to the *hotel de ville*, is to perform

the same duty at the opera-house, that theatre being now put under the direction of the *prevot des marchands*. Accordingly, centinels are now placed at each of these houses; some on the stage; some in the avenues leading to the amphitheatre, as the front-boxes are called; and to the *loges*, or side-boxes; and several are placed within the pit; which, at the play-houses at Paris, as well as at London, are the seats, wherein the critics assume the sovereign right, of exercising their judgment upon all dramatic productions. The guards within the house have orders to turn out all persons guilty of tumultuous behaviour; and to silence the loud talk of any individuals, which may interrupt the rest of the audience. There are, at the same time, numbers of centinels, ranged in the streets adjoining to the play-houses, to keep off the mob, and clear the passage; by which means the order in which the coaches are obliged to come up and drive off, renders the entrance and going out, both safe and convenient. But I apprehend, such a guard, stationed with an intent to awe the audience, in the pit of any of our theatres in London, would be apt to create, rather than silence, a noise and disturbance.

It is likewise part of the exempt's duty, to serve the King's *lettre de cachet*, upon all the inferior people, against whom informations are laid for any offences relating to the affairs of the government. They do not purchase their employment, but are appointed by the King, and paid twenty sols a day, with an additional gratification for every extraordinary duty.

After

After the exempts of the *police*, I am to mention the company, known by the denomination of the *archers*; who being one hundred in number, are distributed into brigades of ten, with a brigadier over each; and who march, in distinct bodies, through all the quarters of Paris, from eight of the clock in the morning, till twelve at noon, and from two till six in the afternoon, to take up all the vagabonds, loose women, and idle beggars, that they find wandring and lurking about the streets, whom they carry immediately to the *lieutenant de police*, and from thence, according to his orders, conduct them to the general workhouse or hospital. This company is likewise paid by the King, twenty sols a day for each private man, and thirty sols a day for each brigadier: they are not regularly disciplined, nor have any uniform, but are sufficiently distinguished by wearing buff bandeliers over their cloaths, and are, at all times, subservient to the orders of the *lieutenant de police*.

It was either by their receiving too rigid orders, or by too rigidly executing such as they had received, that, in the summer of the year 1750, a commotion was raised amongst the populace of this city, upon some strange suggestions, that these archers took up, not only the vagabonds and sturdy beggars, but little children they found playing about the streets, and even some that belonged to honest and industrious citizens; which children, it was given out, were so taken up, to be transported to people the colonies. I shall make no digression, by reciting the many idle stories that were spread abroad at this time: after some outrages committed, the mob, which consisted mostly of women and lackeys out of place, was soon dispelled, by the effectual method used

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here, of sending a body of disciplined troops to drive them away. The consequence of all which, has been, that the number of archers, which before was but fifty, is now one hundred, and a like augmentation has been made to the city watch guard to patrol by day, as well as by night; the particulars of whose duty I am now going to explain.

What I am to relate on this head, is, that the inhabitants of Paris are protected, day and night, by a guard of armed and disciplined watchmen; if being so watched may be called a protection. This watch-guard consists both of horse and foot, under the denominations of the *guet à cheval*, and *guet à pied*, who are never to serve out of the walls of the city.

The *guet à cheval*, or horse-guard, is a company composed of two hundred effective men, and twenty supernumeraries, appointed and paid by the King, and raised out of the disbanded horse and dragoons that have served in his troops: their pay is three livres, or half a crown a day for each horseman, and four livres ten sols, or about three shillings, and nine pence English, for each brigadier; out of which they find themselves with horse, arms, and accoutrements; are dressed in an uniform; and observe the new exercise in their discipline: they are commanded by a chief, who takes his orders from the *lieutenant de police*, or the minister who has the department of Paris. They are not properly enlisted into this service, although they cannot withdraw themselves from it without the leave of the minister, which he never refuses, there being so many supernumeraries ready to fill the vacancy. When any one is no longer able to serve, he has a pension of four hundred livres for his life, one moiety paid

paid by the King, and the other stopt out of the pay of the supernumerary who succeeds in his place.

This company is divided into brigades ; each brigade is composed of a brigadier and four horsemen : four brigades, or twenty men, patrol the streets in the day time ; and fifteen brigades, or seventy-five men, patrol the streets at night : and the whole, in their turns, perform these separate duties alternately.

The day guard being thus divided, traverse the city in different patrols, and frequently making their rounds appear, by the quickness of the circulation, to be more in number than what they really are. Each brigade in his turn goes through all the public streets, squares and markets, and traverses along the quays ; in doing which, it is their duty to interpose upon the appearance of any tumult and disorder ; to separate and drive away all persons wrangling and quarrelling together ; to pursue all fugitives upon the first outcry ; and lay hold on the offenders they are charged with, and conduct them either to the commissary nearest at hand, or to the *lieutenant de police*, as may be required.

The night brigades, being fifteen in number, as above-mentioned, meet towards evening at the places appointed, to receive the parole and order, which is brought from the commandant himself ; and prescribes the routs they are to take ; through what streets and squares they are to pass, and at what particular hours ; where, and how often, they are to stop ; and where to apply for assistance in case of need. The brigadiers only are entrusted with the secrecy of these orders, which vary every night ; and frequently are changed in one and the same night.

These

These troops, besides their general duty in going the watch rounds, are commanded out upon all festivals and public ceremonies, such as the entry of ambassadors, or of the King, when he comes to visit his metropolis; whom they march before, in order to clear the way, and prevent any confusion or interruption to the procession.

The *guet à pied* is a body of four hundred men, raised out of the disbanded infantry, clothed in uniform, and furnished with a sword, firelock, bayonet, and other accoutrements, by the King, from whom also they receive their commission and pay, which is fifteen sols each private man; eighteen sols for the corporals and *anspasades*; and twenty sols for the serjeants: to these there are also added sixty supernumeraries, to succeed on any vacancy.

This body is in like manner divided into a day and a night guard; one hundred and five being appointed for the day, and the remaining two hundred and ninety five divide, as near as may be, the night duty; half on one night, and half the next, alternately. The day guard is formed into fifteen different parties, by sevens in each, composed of a serjeant, a corporal, an *anspasade*, or under corporal, and four centinels; and are distributed in fifteen guard rooms, or watch-houses, that have been lately built in different quarters of the city; where they remain all the day, with a centinel at the door, who is relieved every two hours: from hence they are to be ready at the first call, to give their assistance upon any event that may occasion a disturbance of the peace. They march out with their arms, as soon as demanded, leaving the centinel to apprize the next brigade of the horse guard that shall happen to pass by, of the event,

event, and of the place where the assistance is wanted; to which the horse brigade is immediately obliged to repair. Their duty is to seize all such offenders as they shall be charged with, but not treat them ill, unless in case of resistance; nor ever to fire, without a superior order. After having carried the person, charged with any offence, to the commissary nearest at hand, or the *lieutenant de police*, they attend his examination; and, if he is there found to be guilty of any flagrant crime, that deserves a commitment to the public prison; it is their duty to conduct him thither, and from thence to repair again to their appointed stations. Let it be observed, that they are never permitted to play amongst themselves at any games, whilst they are attending at these fixed stations.

The night-guard assembles at the destined places upon the close of the day, the serjeants only approach the order: the duty of these is, to march and patrol through the streets, in the same manner as the horse guard, and to perform all other duties in common with them: and further also to search more narrowly into all the bye-alleys where there are no thoroughfares; into all stalls and rubbish; and in the boats on the river, to discover if any persons lie concealed there: so soon as their assistance is required upon any tumult or disorder, they send an advanced centinel, to give notice to the other parties, to join them, who are immediately to change their posts, and conform to what is required. They make their report every morning to certain officers, to whom the chief command is now substituted, in the room of the *chevalier du guet*, which commission has been sometime ago suppressed.

It must be observed, that the night-watch in general, both of horse and foot, are never to remain more than one hour in a place; and it is usual for the commanding officers of each, to send out their spies, to examine if the orders are punctually executed, and if the respective corps are at their proper stations, and at the appointed times; all which obliges them in general to be exactly attentive to the execution of their duty. These stations are changed every night in different parts of the city; so that the same guard is never two nights together in the same place; by which means they cannot receive any bribe or contribution for connivance from any particular quarter; and, as the orders of the night are entrusted only to the brigadiers or serjeants, the private men never know where they are to be, and consequently persons of bad designs can take no advantage of putting their enterprize into execution, by the means of a previous intelligence of the intended stations.

As this watch-guard is upon the military establishment, I would not be understood to recommend the trial of it, upon *that* system, in our country; being too sensible of the blessings of our civil administration, to suggest any measures, either dangerous to our liberties, or unconstitutional to the frame of our government. Nevertheless, I thought it might be proper, whilst upon this subject, to describe the order, discipline, and œconomy of its execution, if happily the same good purposes might be answered by such an establishment under a civil power.

I have observed, that the criminals are carried to the prisons of the city, of which there are two, the one called *fort*
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evêque, and the other the little *châtelet*, in order to take their trials, at the courts of judicature established for the adjudging and punishing these criminals; who, in the first instance, must be tried at the court of the great *châtelet*, so called from its having been anciently the castle or fortress where the governor of the city resided, but has long since been converted into a court for the administration of justice, and divided into different apartments, containing several separate jurisdictions; one is called the *chamber* of the *police*, where the *lieutenant de police*, assisted by the judges, settles all such matters, relating to the preservation of the peace, and the good order of the city, as are of too great importance to be adjudged by him, in his single capacity: another is stiled the *chambre civile*, constituted for the trial of all civil suits, for small sums, in a summary manner; the chief judge of which is stiled the *lieutenant civil*: another is called the *chambre criminelle*, for the trial of all criminal accusations, not *prevoial*; at this the *lieutenant criminel* is the chief presiding officer, assisted by the *lieutenant de police*, and the *lieutenant civil*, together with another magistrate, named the *lieutenant criminel de robe courte*, from the short gown which he wears. This last-mentioned magistrate, not only assists at the condemnation, but attends at the execution; officiating first as judge, and then, as sheriff, goes in procession to the place of execution, escorted by a company of guards, subject to his orders, composed of four lieutenants, twelve exempts, and sixty archers, who are paid by the King. But the accused, when capitally convicted at this court, has a right of appeal to the Parliament; which constitutes itself, for that purpose, into a court


of committee, called the *court de tournelle*, being composed of a detached number of presidents and counsellors of the *grand chambre*, and the *chambre des enquêts*, which are the superior seats of justice, and whose members take it by turns to sit in this court of appeal, from thence called the *court de tournelle*.

Lastly, there is a presidial chamber, which is the principal and chief court belonging to the *grand chatelet*, at which all its other judges above-mentioned assist, for the trial of all crimes that are *prevotal*. For the greater authority of this court, and the better administration of justice, it was thought proper, by the edict of 1674, that the *justices royales* and *seigneuriales*, within the city, and the circumference of its *banlieu*, or, as we term it, within the bills of mortality; as also the court of the *prevot* of the *marechaussée*, within the same district, should all be united into one sole jurisdiction, invested with the authority both of the presidial courts, and courts of the *prevot general*: by this court, therefore, the offenders guilty of *prevotal* crimes, are adjudged, and finally condemned, without any right of appeal. The *prevot general* of the *marechaussée* doth not indeed assist at this court in his judicial capacity; yet the military duty of that establishment is required for the pursuing and apprehending of all offenders; and, after condemnation, the officers of the *marechaussée* attend the prisoner to the place of execution, which sometimes is ordered to be at the *carrefour*, or open cross-street, nearest to the place where the crime was committed, or more commonly at the square called the *grève*, especially for the breaking on the wheel.

If, after examining what I have, as above, described, it should be thought expedient, to reform the abuses complained of in London, by the model of this *police* established at Paris, we might imitate, not the military, but the civil, part of its system : so far as it makes the *police* a distinct department, separate from the other branches of their government, not generally entrusted, as in England, to those who have other business, and occupations of their own, to follow ; but committed to the care of distinct magistrates, and ministerial officers ; who, in their several stations, make it their *whole* duty, their *sole* occupation, and their *only* livelihood, to execute the parts assigned to each, for promoting the peace and good order of the whole. The *lieutenant de police* gives orders ; the inspectors inform ; the exempts apprehend ; the archers conduct ; the commissaries commit ; the *chatelet* condemns ; and the priest grants no absolution to the criminal, unless he makes a discovery of his accomplices : and thus it is, that neither the most secret rogues, nor the most audacious villains, can find any means of evading the administration of the laws, under a *police*, so well contrived ; so duly regulated ; and so strictly carried into execution.

P A R T IV.

A farther Account of the *Police* and Government of the City of *PARIS*, with regard to the Maintenance of the Poor; the Support of the Hospitals; the Supply of Provisions; the Preventing of Fires; the Regulating the public Companies; and the paving, cleaning, and lighting the Streets.

HE antient ordonnances of France enjoined no other method, for the maintenance of their poor, than that they should be nourished and entertained by the cities, towns, and villages, of which they were natives and inhabitants: all such therefore, who wandred from the places of their birth, either to seek for work elsewhere, or to serve in the army; when they were out of employment, and absent from their native home, had no other means for subsistence than what they procured by begging, and who, for the most part, usually resorted to the capital; which formerly contained only two houses of charity for the poor, the one a kind of alms-house for old people, the other a kind of charity-school for children; but

but so few were maintained in each, that, in the year 1640, the number of strolling beggars about the streets of Paris, were computed to amount to no less than 40,000, without settlement, maintenance, or lodging.

The deplorable state of so many unhappy wretches, the scandal it gave to their religion, to their *police*, and to their government in general, excited some persons of eminence at that time, to hold frequent assemblies for the purpose of finding out a proper remedy to so great an evil. It was in consequence of these deliberations, that the project of a general workhouse, or hospital, was agreed to, for the taking in the whole number of the poor under one establishment, and to to be supported by one common fund, according to their ages, sexes, abilities, or infirmities.

This project was at first treated as a chimerical one, the common fate of every new proposal ; but at length, in spite of all opposition, an edict was obtained for its confirmation, in April 1656, which edict is introduced with a long preamble, reciting, “ That the former methods for preventing idleness
 “ and begging, the source of all disorders, had been found
 “ ineffectual, for want of a fund necessary for their subsistence,
 “ and of a direction proper to conduct so great an enterprise ;
 “ insomuch that the licentiousness of the poor had
 “ come to that excess, as to draw down the vengeance of
 “ Heaven on their country ; experience having made it
 “ known, that many of them, both of the one and the
 “ other sex, cohabited together without marriage ; their
 “ children remained without baptism ; and all continued
 “ in an habitual course of every kind of vice.” I have

have cited this part, to shew, that the precarious charity of the monastic orders, and their pretended care of the poor, did not prevent the horrid evils above complained of ; which the magistrates at Paris at last found could not be abated, but by a civil administration, in fixing the poor to some settled residence ; finding means for their employment ; and establishing some common fund for their support. Accordingly, the edict above-mentioned ordained, that all the beggars, whether in health or sickness, of the one and the other sex, should, from thence forward, be confined, in one general hospital ; to be employed in such works and manufactures, as should be suitable to their abilities.

For the due government of this establishment, the *premier president*, and *procureur general* of the Parliament, for the time being, were appointed the chiefs, to be assisted by a certain number of directors therein nominated, to whom and to their successors, during life, was granted all power and authority, for the direction, administration, *police*, and correction of the poor, confined in the hospitals, exclusively and independantly of any other direction of the *police* of the city, or *prevoté* of Paris ; the King declaring himself, to be the protector of this royal foundation, as it is there called : and, for the reception of such poor, as were thus to be confined, his Majesty granted several houses and scites of ground, within or near adjoining to Paris, particularly two large buildings, the one called the *bicestrc*, the other the *salpetriere*, on which all others were to be dependant ; and all to be comprized under the common appellation of the General Hospital.

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Towards the maintenance of these, the edict assigned over all the rights, profits, and revenues, appertaining to several other charities; declaring, that, for the future, every gift and legacy, given by deed or will, in general words, to the use of the poor, should be deemed as given to this hospital: for whose benefit also charity-boxes should be fixed up, and collections made in all churches and public places. It further enjoins, that every community, both secular and regular, of either sex, should send an annual gift to this charity. That, on every contract or lease made with the government, the contractors should advance a certain sum towards it. That part of all forfeitures and condemnations, incurred by any misdemeanors; as also a part of all goods and merchandises, confiscated by law, should be appropriated to its use. That every magistrate, upon his admission into any office of sovereign jurisdiction, or into any of the subordinate courts, erected at Paris; as also all persons taking up their freedom, in any companies of the arts and mysteries within the city, should previously give some alms to this charity; of which they should produce a receipt, before they be admitted: this afterwards by a subsequent edict was fixed to a certain rated tax on each office, according to its rank and degree.

Besides these public contributions, the poor themselves are to be instrumental to their own support, out of the profits of their skill and industry; to which purpose, the directors are empowered to set up any species of manufacture, within the hospital, and to sell them, free from all duties, or from being visited by the officers of the customs; and for the better learning and completing such manufactures, every company

of arts and mysteries is obliged to send two of their body, to instruct the young children that are confined, according as they may be apt and disposed to learn : these assistants, having served six years, and the children having been taught ten years, may afterwards go out of the hospital, and enjoy the freedom of exercising their respective trades, in any part of Paris, without other qualification than that of producing a certificate of their service, as above, from the directors. Lastly, the hospital is discharged from the payment of all duties, on the entry of their necessary provisions ; which are allowed to be brought, free from the tolls on rivers, or passage-money over bridges : with the privilege also of a certain measure of wine, and of salt, clear from the King's duty ; and a free gift of a quantity of wood for firing, to be cut from any of his Majesty's forests, nearest to Paris, as can best be spared.

The edict, having ordained these provisions for the poor, within the hospital, strictly forbids any either to ask or to give alms without doors, either publicly or privately ; except to the *hotel Dieu*, and some other charitable foundations therein enumerated ; and, at the conclusion, by way of appendix, are annexed the rules to be observed by the persons appointed to supervise, and execute all the necessary duties, for the due order and regulation of so large a community.

The King having thus far given his royal sanction to the work, the rest remained to be accomplished by the magistrates, who first proposed this public institution. Who accordingly, by a voluntary subscription, set about to repair the two principal houses, before-mentioned, that of the *bicestre* being appropriated for the men, and the *salpêtrière* for the women.

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When every thing was prepared, notice was given in all the churches at Paris, that, on such a day, being the 7th of May 1657, these houses would be opened, for the reception of all kind of poor, who wanted either relief or employment; and would voluntarily enter therein; at the same time, the magistrates, by the public cryer, forbid the poor to beg or ask alms at any place, or from any persons whatsoever; giving warning to all such poor, that were not inhabitants of Paris, and refused voluntarily to enter into the hospital, that they should be compelled by force, unless they immediately departed to the places of their proper settlements.

The city now began to have a different appearance to what it had before; the greatest part of the beggars, unwilling to be confined, thought fit to leave Paris, and retire to the places of their birth; the only legal settlement that could then be obtained in France; others betook themselves to some industrious means of gaining their subsistence; and the infirm consented to be shut up, and accept of what was to be provided for them by the establishment: this was all done, as it were, in an instant, by only sending a company of archers, whose functions I have already described, through the streets, to take up such as publicly transgressed the orders that had been notified; so that out of this great computed number of 40,000 beggars, there were no more than 5000 that came at first to take shelter in this hospital, though their numbers have since been increased to some thousands more, and the buildings in proportion enlarged for their reception.

I must just take notice, that the government of this hospital is divided, as is usual in all charitable foundations, into a

spiritual and temporal administration ; and that by the King's declaration of 1673, the archbishop of Paris is named to be one of the chiefs, jointly with the first president and the attorney general ; but as all the rules and orders concerning their spiritual affairs, are agreeable to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Romish religion, it is totally unnecessary for me to enter into any account of it.

The temporal administration, being entrusted to the three chiefs, and a certain number of assistants, and their successors, as above-mentioned ; it has been usual, upon the decease of any director, to elect another in his stead, who is presented to the Parliament, where he takes an oath faithfully to administer the duties of his office, and the distributions of the monies belonging to the poor.

It is time now to give some account in what manner this administration is at present carried on, with regard to the numbers admitted, and the expence of maintenance.

The *bicestree*, which is the general workhouse for the men, is at a little distance on the West from Paris ; the antiquaries pretend it is so called, by a corruption from its original name of *by Chester*, given to it by the English, who built it as an out-guard, when they were in possession of Paris ; be this as it will, one part of it is now destined for the reception of idle and disorderly youths, who being without, or having deserted their parents, are taken in to be instructed and employed in several sorts of manufactures, according to their talents, more particularly, in weaving the linen and cloth necessary for their apparel and the use of the house : another part of the building is appropriated for the confinement of all vagabonds and
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sturdy beggars, and the punishment of such disorderly people, as the magistrates of the city think fit to commit to hard labour, who, according to their crimes, are to receive the discipline and correction they deserve. Another part, called *la maison de force*, is likewise used as a prison for all inferior persons that are taken up by the King's *lettre de cachet*, for offences against the government; and also to serve as a jail, for the supernumerary criminals, when there is not room sufficient for their confinement in the public prisons of the city. Besides these, there are apartments destined as an hospital, in the nature of Bethlem in London, for the confinement of madmen, with guards to attend them. The whole number of men and boys, contained in this house, either for instruction, correction, or confinement, together with the officers and servants, generally amount to about four thousand.

There is another large building, dependant on this, situated within the walls of the city, called *la pitie*, for the taking in of the poor charity-boys; where they are admitted from the age of five to ten, to whatever parish, province, or nation they belong, provided the curate of any parish in the city, doth but certify, that such child is an object of charity, and destitute of all other means of maintenance and education. Here they are instructed in reading and writing; as likewise in several sorts of manufactures of knitting and weaving; their number is generally between thirteen and fourteen hundred, divided into several schools and classes, some intended to serve such handicrafts-men as may be willing to take apprentices from hence; others are put out to service; and others returned to their parents. There are two other cha-
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ritable foundations of the like nature, in which about two or three hundred boys are maintained in separate houses; one is called *les enfans rouges*, or red-coat boys; the other *les enfans de Saint Esprit*, or children of the Holy Ghost; who are taught the church chant, and such other offices as are required to be performed by boys assisting the priest at the altar: they are likewise employed to carry tapers at funerals, and other religious processions.

Here it will be proper to take notice, that the foundling-hospital at Paris, though it be in a great measure maintained and supported by distinct charitable donations, yet is a part of the general hospital, being incorporated and united to it by the edict of the 18th of August 1760, and accordingly, the exposed and deserted children of both sexes, before they are sent into the provinces to be nursed, and after they are brought from thence to be farther maintained and educated, are entitled to an aid and support from this general fund. The infants therefore that are taken, at the grate of what is called the *hospital des enfans trouvés*, or foundling-hospital, erected in the heart of the city, near the cathedral of Notre Dame, are, for the time they continue there, which is about two or three days before they are sent into the country, maintained at the expence of the general hospital; and the boys, when brought back, at the age of five or six, are sent to another building, in the suburbs of Saint Antoine; and the girls to the *salpetriere*, to be educated and brought up under the same administration. In this college, as it is called, of Saint Antoine, there are generally about four or five hundred youths. But I shall presently offer some farther observations
on

on this particular charity of the foundling-hospital, when I come to consider it distinctly and separately by itself.

The other principal building of the general hospital, destined for the reception of the female sex, is called the *salpêtrière*, from the manufacture of salt-petre being formerly carried on there. Belonging to this, there is first of all the court called *Notre Dame de pitié*, in which are taken all the parish-girls of Paris, that are poor and destitute, being recommended as above by the several curates; and to these is added, the continual supply of the female foundlings, sent from their nurses in the country, as I have just now mentioned: these girls are first taught their prayers and catechism, and to read and write: they are afterwards instructed and employed, some to knit, and do plain work or embroidery; and others to weave the linen and cloth necessary for their apparel, or the use of the house. There is a particular circumstance attending these girls, which cannot be mentioned without pity or detestation; being generally about 800 in number, they are ranged together in two long apartments, working indeed at their needles, but covered with the itch; a distemper so universally spread amongst them, that so sure as a child is brought in, so surely it catches it. Whether this be owing to contagion, or to low nourishment and want of exercise, they have not yet found any means of eradicating it.

Another part of the building is destined as a house of correction, for all idle beggars, pilferers, and loose disorderly prostitutes, from whence, after having made an atonement, by hard labour for some limited time, they are either discharged, being first marked on the shoulder with a hot iron,

or else sent out of the kingdom to people their colonies in America. It is from the dread of being brought by the exempts of the *police* to this hospital, that the streets of Paris are free from all such night-walkers as impudently swarm in the streets of London.

Here is also a *maison de force*, or strong prison, for such as by their crimes deserve confinement for life : and some other apartments, which serve as infirmaries for paralytics, ideots, and mad-women. It is again with horror, I mention another circumstance attending the manner of treating these unhappy lunatics ; for as more are taken in than the number of cells can contain, the supernumerary ones are chained to bulks in the open courts, without any sheds to cover them, or beds to lie on ; exposed night and day to the open air, in winter as well as summer ; for which they, who look after them, make no other excuse, but that people under such a calamity, are insensible of the inclemency of the weather.

This building, called the *salpetriere*, is the largest belonging to the general hospital, as it has, from time to time, been augmented ; and divided into separate courts, to serve as schools for the children, workhouses for the grown up, and infirmaries for the sick ; besides lodgings for all the officers, nurses, and assistants ; and at this time contains all together near 7000 persons.

The administrators of this hospital, as they are usually called, hold a general board every Wednesday and Saturday, to take in the accounts from the several wards, of the numbers employed and relieved ; to hear the complaints of such who want redress ; and to examine all proposals for the œconomy

nomy of the whole. For the better inspection of each department, they divide themselves into three committees; the first for purchasing of corn, oxen, sheep, &c. to supply the house. The second for the distribution of the provisions, and the finding of cloaths and medicines; and also for laying in a sufficient stock of wool, hemp, flax, and other materials manufacture. And the last for the examination of all relating to the revenues and expences of the establish-

All the necessaries of bread, meat, pease, &c. are provided in a large building, called the *scipion*; where people are employed in the butchery, brewing, baking, and preparing whatever may be wanting for the daily consumption of all the separate houses. Each poor being allowed rather more than one pound of bread every day; two ounces of meat every other day; and in the intermediate ones a proportionable quantity of pease or beans. These accounts are settled in so exact a manner, that at one view may be seen, the number to be maintained, and the quantity delivered at each house. Therefore that I might be informed with certainty, I examined the account at the office itself, and found, that, at the time of my enquiry, the numbers in each house, and the quantity of bread then delivered, were as follow.

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Names

<i>Names of Houses.</i>	<i>Number of Persons.</i>	<i>Pounds of Bread per diem.</i>
Bicestre, - - - - -	3670	5027
Salpetriere, - - - - -	6835	8840
La Pitie, - - - - -	1320	1819 $\frac{1}{4}$
Enfans Rouges, - - - - -	100	130
Enfans de St. Esprit, - - - - -	137	160
New-born Foundlings, - - - - -	100	110
Foundlings at St. Antoine, - - - - -	640	680
The Scipion, - - - - -	66	96 $\frac{1}{4}$
Extraordinaries, - - - - -	—	25
	<hr/> 12868 <hr/>	<hr/> 16887 $\frac{3}{4}$ <hr/>

Thus we perceive, that the numbers, which, at the first institution of this charity, were only 5000, are now increased to more than double, and we must suppose the revenues for their support have been proportionably enlarged: for let us estimate the expence of maintaining the above number of 12,868 persons at six-pence *per diem* each, including all charges for salaries and wages, which, I was told, was fixing it at the lowest computation, yet even at this rate the expence will be about 117,419 pounds 10 shillings a year. In order therefore to support this increased number, an additional allowance

lowance has been made by several *arrêts de conseils*, of wine and salt, duty free; and subsequent edicts have established a tax of four sols a day on every hackney or hired coach at Paris, and a certain share of the profits each night from the opera, play-houses, and other public diversions: but above all, and which indeed is the principal support of the whole, a fund is now raised from the duties on the entry of provisions into the city; for by several octroys between the King and the *hotel de ville*, it was agreed, that the city should reserve a fifth part from the royal duties payable on the entry of wines, brandies, and other liquors, and of cattle, fowls, game, and other provisions; and of hay, wheat, and other sorts of grain; and as this fifth part amounts generally to 3,200,000 livres, or 139,000 pounds sterling *per annum*, a moiety of it has for a long time since been appropriated to the general hospital, which moiety accordingly produces 69,500 pounds each year towards its maintenance; and the rest of the expence is defrayed by the other incomes arising from the taxes, fines, contributions, and charitable donations before-mentioned: add to these, the no inconsiderable profits, which may be supposed to be gained, by the employment of the poor, and the sale of their manufactures; notwithstanding all which, this corporation is said to be considerably in debt, and not without some surmises of embezlements made by those who are concerned in the administration.

I must observe, that some time after this general hospital was established at Paris, a declaration was published, dated in June 166, to enjoin the erecting the like establishment in all the great cities and towns throughout the kingdom,

wherein all the poor that were natives, or had lived for the space of one year in those districts, were to be confined and prevented from wandring into other parts ; and this seems at present to be the general system in France for the maintenance of their poor : concerning which I have been more particular in making my enquiries, upon being informed, that several treatises have lately been published in London, recommending such a general method of maintaining our poor, as preferable to the provisions which our ancient laws had established by parochial assessments. Whereas at the same time many representations, projects, and memorials have lately been offered here to the French ministry, proposing on the other hand, that their poor might be maintained, as in England, by parochial assessments ; and I may appeal to a multitude of new edicts, declarations, *arrêts* of councils, and *arrêts* of Parliament, that have been published, since the erecting of these general work-houses, all complaining in the preambles, of the increase of vagrants, and the multiplicity of poor unprovided for, notwithstanding those establishments : so that I cannot help refering back to the observation I have hinted at more than once before, I mean, that the *police* of every country is best regulated, when the execution of it is divided into separate and distinct departments : for besides the difficulty of directing and governing so large an institution, and the preventing it from being converted into a private job ; we must consider the fatal objection to such a plan, arises from the numbers to be contained therein being unlimited, whilst there can be only a limited revenue to support them : this accounts for the swarms of beggars, which infest the streets of
Paris,

Paris, notwithstanding the rigorous methods of enforcing their laws, as I have before mentioned; for as their hospital can hold only a certain number, it is suspected, that as fast as the magistrates send a croud of vagrants to be admitted at one door, the administrators let out as many at another. Thus far I have taken the liberty to point out the inconveniences of these general establishments, which have been discovered from practice and experience, the best lesson to learn by; but I must remember the design of this treatise is only to describe the *police* of a foreign country, and leave the use that may be made of it in our own, to the decision of others.

I shall now therefore proceed to give an account of the regulations prescribed at the foundling-hospital at Paris, for the care and sustenance of the young deserted children of the poor. This is indeed a species of charity, which deserves the utmost care and attention; tenderness for the lives of so many innocent babes, and the consideration of the service they may do their country, by being preserved to grow up to maturity, are such motives of compassion and self interest, of private charity and of public policy united together, as ought to animate the legislature, as well as individuals, not only to become benefactors, but to direct the benefactions in such a manner, as may best prevent the evil, and procure the good that is intended by such an institution.

The edict of 1670, before-mentioned, which united this charity at Paris to the general hospital, constituted it at the same time to be a body corporate of itself, with powers to receive benefactions, to buy and to sell, &c. reciting, that it subsisted before only by charitable donations, under the care
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and protection of the Parliament of Paris, who, by frequent *arrêts* of their court, had ordained some annual contributions to be made towards it by the magistrates under their jurisdiction; and reciting also how advantageous it might be to the state to bring up such children to be soldiers or manufacturers, or to be sent abroad to people their colonies. The King therefore confirms all those former donations and legacies to be valid and good, as if the said hospital had been before established by his letters patent; and then makes a grant of several sums, amounting together to 24,000 livres, or 892 pounds 10 shillings sterling, to be annually paid out of his domains near Paris, for its better support. From this foundation, the revenues have increased by subsequent donations and legacies, and are continually assisted by voluntary benefactions, and the profits arising from an annual lottery, the King authorises to be drawn for its benefit. The rest is supplied out of the funds of the general hospital; four of whose directors are to serve in this for the space of three years by rotation, unless there be a necessity, for the good of the charity, of continuing any of them for a longer time, assisted always by the first president and attorney general of the Parliament of Paris; and a receiver to be chosen by them, who is to render an account of the receipts and payments within three months after the expiration of every year, to the board of the general hospital. There are some few regulations from the council of state, for the better execution of the above edict, exhorting the administrators to use diligence, in collecting what shall be given to the charity; to build or repair what houses may be necessary; to regulate the expences both for the children and the servants
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that are to attend them ; and lastly, to visit every week the registry, where the names of the children are entered, and to examine it by the registry kept by the commissaries.

From hence it may be necessary to obviate a mistaken notion, which I find some at London have conceived, that all children may be admitted into the foundling-hospital at Paris, without any questions asked, or formality required at the delivery ; whereas there must be first of all an information given to one of the exempts of the *police*, of every child that is left to be offered to this charity ; which exempt is immediately to notify to the commissary of the quarter, that there is a child exposed in such a place, or born in such a house, destitute of sustenance. The person who gives the information, must declare whether it be an exposed infant, whose parents are unknown, or whether it be the child of any poor parents, who desire to relinquish it to the care of the hospital ; if it be in the latter circumstance, a registry of its baptism must be produced, with its name, and a particular mark by which the child may be known, in case it be afterwards reclaimed ; if the parents are unknown, that circumstance is noted down, that it may be christened afterwards : of all which the commissary enters a note in a registry he keeps for this purpose, the copy of which must be carried with the infant to the grate of the hospital ; where, upon the billet's being produced, the child is taken in. This is what is meant by the above order of council, that the directors should examine every week the registry at the hospital, by the registry of the commissaries.

Eight or ten children are thus admitted almost every 24 hours ; and many of them brought in the middle of the night, where about fifteen or twenty nurses are constantly attending, to afford them an immediate assistance, until they can be carried out of town to be nursed in some country villages of the adjoining provinces ; at which other nurses are hired to take care of them for the first five or six years. Every nurse undertakes three children, besides what she is supposed to have of her own, and is allowed only a French crown, which is less than half a crown English, a month for each ; upon the demise of any one, she again applies to complete the number. For this purpose there are twenty officers, called *meneurs*, which, in English, may be called leaders or conductors, whose employment is to enquire at all the villages, within certain particular cantons, within a day's journey distance round about the city, for such nurses as may be proper and willing to undertake the duty. These are brought up to Paris, once or twice a week in waggons, to receive the children and carry them away. It is likewise the *meneurs* business, to visit from time to time the several villages, where the children are at nurse ; and to give an account to the directors of the state of their health, or of the death of such as shall happen not to survive. And that all the poor parents, who have relinquished their children to be brought up in this manner, may from time to time be apprised of their state, a public office is erected at Paris, where each parent, giving in the name and mark of the child, may, upon payment of a certain sum, be informed to what district it is sent to be nursed ; and upon the farther payment of two sols upon every application,

application, receive intelligence from time to time, whether it be alive or dead. The surviving ones are recalled to Paris at the age of five or six years; the boys to be placed in the suburbs of St. Antoine, and the girls at the *salpetriere*, to be farther maintained, as before-mentioned, at the expence of the general hospital.

The number of exposed and deserted infants, admitted annually into this hospital, is about 4000, as appears by a medium taken from their annual accounts, for several years past. The number of males taken in each year generally exceeds the number of females; but not to fill up the page with a repetition of the same accounts for numbers of years, I shall beg leave only to set down the annual accounts for the three last years preceding this, in which I now write, namely, from 1751 to 1753 inclusive.

An account of the number of children admitted into the foundling hospital.

			<i>Boys.</i>			<i>Girls.</i>			<i>Total Number.</i>
1751	-	-	1922	-	-	1861	-	-	3783
1752	-	-	2046	-	-	2081	-	-	4127
1753	-	-	2216	-	-	2113	-	-	4329

Let us suppose, that out of 4000 children annually carried into the country, which is near the medium as above, two thirds may die during the five years they are destined to remain at nurse, which even in that tender age is much beyond the natural course; so that only 1333 being the remaining third, would constantly be the annual number sent back to Paris; who being kept at the two hospitals before-men-

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tioned, until they arrive at the age of twelve years, and succeeded by the like number each year, the total number composed of all brought in the successive years, from five to twelve, being seven years, would make the constant resting stock of children to amount to 9331 ; but of these, we will suppose a fifth part to die every year, which again is by far too great a diminution ; yet even then the constant resting stock of children ought to be 7465 ; how greatly then must we be surprized, to find, by the authentic account taken from their own books, only 640 boys in the college of St. Antoine, and not more than 600 girls at the *salpetriere* ; so that the resting stock of returned foundlings appears to be no more than 1240, which being deducted from 7465, will make the difference in the deficiencies to be 6225. What then are become of these ? are they reclaimed by their parents ? or do they perish for want of due care ? In answer to which questions, and to obviate the reflections which might arise from thence, it was explained to me, that as many of the lower class of people were induced to marry, in order to be excused from serving in the militia ; so when these have children, which they are unable to maintain, they usually send them to this hospital ; which therefore must be looked upon, not only as a charity for the care of exposed and deserted infants, whose parents are unknown ; but also as the public nursery for the sustenance of poor people's children, who, although registered at the office, are often reclaimed from their country nurses by their parents : this accounts, in some measure, for the small stock brought back to the hospital at Paris, in comparison of what it might be, according to the above computation. The farther difference is suspected to be owing to the insufficient nourishment they receive ; as this particular
charity,

charity, as well as the general hospital, adopts that preposterous system of taking in an unlimited number, whilst there is only a limited income for their sustenance.

I shall here take the liberty, to add the account of the births in general in the city of Paris, to be compared to the number sent to the foundling hospital, in the three last years; the proportion being near the same in all the other years, which I have examined.

Total of the births at Paris for three years, namely, from 1751 to 1753 inclusive, compared with the numbers thereof sent to the foundling hospital.

					<i>Births in general.</i>						<i>Numbers thereof sent to the foundling hospital.</i>
1751	-	-	-	-	19321	-	-	-	-	-	3783
1752	-	-	-	-	20227	-	-	-	-	-	4127
1753	-	-	-	-	19729	-	-	-	-	-	4329

From hence an observation immediately occurs, namely, that by the medium of the above numbers, near a fifth part of all the children born at Paris, are sent to the foundling-hospital: to this I shall presently make an additional remark.

Next to this, I am to take notice of that other Christian duty, and no less public charity, of relieving the sick and maimed, incapable of labour, in some common hospital; wherein all real patients may be admitted, and no excuse left to those, who beg abroad under counterfeited ailments. It must be acknowledged, that the foundations, endowed for this purpose at Paris, are larger than ours at London, particu-

larly that of the *hotel Dieu* ; a building very improperly situated in the middle of the city, with regard to air and health, but convenient with regard to the ease of bringing the patients to it. The revenues, upon which this charity is supported, are indeed very considerable, arising first of all from a large estate it has in houses, and ground-rents, in several parts of Paris ; as also from a duty raised upon wood and coals ; from the toll of a bridge contiguous to it, cross the river Seine ; from a part of all confiscations and fines payable for certain offences to this hospital ; from a share of the monies paid for all sorts of public diversions ; and lastly, from the privilege of selling meat, and all sorts of fowl and game, during Lent ; which privilege they have a liberty to transfer to a certain number of butchers and poulterers, who accordingly pay a considerable sum of money for it.

It is difficult to come at a true state of the revenues of this charity, since they do not publish such accounts of their income and expences, as are annually printed by the governors of our hospitals and infirmaries in London. But as they print an account of the numbers of patients admitted and discharged, we may from thence proceed in the same method of computation as I have used before, with respect to the general hospital ; for by knowing their numbers, we may nearly guess, what must be the annual income to support them. To this purpose, I examined the registry of the numbers constantly remaining in cure each month, in the three preceding years to this above-mentioned, namely, from 1751 to 1753 inclusive, and found the medium of the totals to amount to 3088 patients, which may be set down as the usual resting stock to be maintained ; for

as fast as it may be diminished by the deaths, or the discharged, it is as continually replenished by the new admitted. And let us suppose, that these 3088 patients are relieved at the expence of six-pence *per* day each, including the charges of physic, bedding, physicians, surgeons, nurses, and burials, the whole amount of the expence would then be, 77 pounds 4 shillings sterling, *per* day, or 28,177 pounds 10 shillings *per annum*. And we may suppose, that the revenues are much larger than these expences, from the considerable profits that are imputed to be gained, by those who have the management of them : nor can we imagine a less revenue would be sufficient for the support of so general a charity, where any may come, or be brought in, without either petition or recommendation, being only examined upon their first entrance, by the physicians or surgeons in waiting, and, according to their distempers, conducted to the wards destined for them. Such as are contagious are lodged above stairs ; those who have the venereal malady are sent to the *bicestre* ; and the rest are laid in beds ranged on the right hand and left, in several long apartments. Here we may behold a horrid scene of misery, for the beds being too few for the numbers admitted, it is common to see four, or six, and even eight in a bed together, lying four at one end, and four at another ; of various distempers ; in several degrees ; some bad ; others worse ; some dying ; others dead.

I find also, from the stated monthly accounts in the three years above-mentioned, the medium of the annual numbers admitted to be 21823 ; and the medium of deaths, in the same term of years, to be 4650 ; which is about one in five of all the admitted. It must be mentioned, with honour to
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the better care and skill used in our hospitals in London, that although their foundations are not so large, yet the annual numbers of deaths to the annual numbers taken in, are considerably less in proportion; and certainly the benefit of the charity consists, not in the numbers admitted, but in the numbers relieved.

There is a particular registry of the burials in all the other hospitals of the city, namely, at the *bicestree*, the *salpetriere*, the foundlings, and all the other dependants on the general hospital; as also in the hospitals for the incurables, and for the blind, called *les quinze vingts*, and for the lunatics, called the *petites maisons*; and in the infirmary called the *charity*, which last, in the nature of our infirmaries at London, is supported by the voluntary contributions of the nobility and others; and where the poor patients are relieved in a more proper and decent manner, than in any of the others: but the annual burials, in all these hospitals, amount to little more than one third of the number of those that are registred in the *hotel Dieu*.

If, upon the whole, we would compare the proportions of the yearly deaths in all these hospitals, to the total of the deaths in general within the city, the same observation will offer itself, as I before hinted at, in comparing the births of the foundlings, to the general births of children within the city: for example,

					<i>Deaths in general.</i>				<i>Whereof die in the hospitals.</i>
1751	-	-	-	-	16673	-	-	-	5517
1752	-	-	-	-	17762	-	-	-	5829
1753	-	-	-	-	21716	-	-	-	7167

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By the medium of the number of births, as stated in page 83, and of burials, as in the foregoing page, it appears, that as one fifth of the children born at Paris are sent to the foundling hospital; so one third of the people who die at Paris, die in an hospital. I take this from stated accounts printed by authority; and leave it to others to give the explanation, or draw the inferences that may be suggested from them.

From these reflections on the methods of maintaining their poor, and supporting their hospitals, let us now turn our view to the higher stations of life, and examine the methods pursued, for promoting the ease and conveniency of the inhabitants in general.

Here then we are to behold another department of magistrates and officers, composed of a *prevôt des marchands*, who who is the chief, assisted by four *eschevins*, an attorney general of the King, a recorder, city councillors, a receiver general, and several ushers; who jointly form, what is here called, the *bureau* of the *hotel de ville*, or, in our phrase, the City or Lord Mayor's court.

The *prevôt des marchands*, notwithstanding his title, is not a member, like our city magistrate, of the body over which he presides; nor is he promoted to the office by their election, but is nominated by the King, and usually is a person belonging to the robe: his commission is only for two years, though it is generally renewed; so that it has been the custom for a long time past, to continue the same person in the prevôtship, until he has served the office for four successive terms, or eight years: the *eschevins* are elected for four years, by those who have served the office before, and who, having experienced the weight of it, must be supposed best to know the qualifications

cations necessary for that duty ; but instead of electing all four at once, two only are chosen every two years ; so that the two seniors, having served half the time before the new ones come in, are enabled to instruct the new chosen in the nature of their office. They are elected out of the notaries, or most substantial tradesmen, provided they were born in the city, which is a necessary qualification. The *eschévins*, recorder, and receiver-general, as well as the *prevôt des marchands*, are all sworn into their office before the King, and by the edict of 1706 are to enjoy all the honours and privileges of the *noblesse*.

To add to the grandeur of these city magistrates, they are attended on solemn occasions, by a horse-guard of an ancient establishment, called the *arbalétriers* and *arquebusiers* of Paris, commanded by colonels, captains, lieutenants, &c. and seem, like our train bands in London, to be exhibited rather for show than service. But for the better security of the gates, the *boulevards*, or ramparts, and the quays on the river, there are three companies of foot-guards of 100 men each, in the pay of the *prevôt des marchands*, and dependant on the *hotel de ville* : these are divided into a certain number of *escuades*, or scouts, composed of a serjeant, corporal, and five centinels, whose duty it is to watch night and day, near the several places above-mentioned, particularly on the quays and wood yards ; to prevent all pilferers ; and to take care that the persons, who come to purchase wood, be served in their turns : they also guard the boats, that are loaded with merchandize upon the river ; besides which, part of them are upon guard at the town-house, and another at the opera-house :

house ; the *prevôt des marchands* being the chief manager of that theatre. They likewise attend the city magistrates in all their processions ; and the officer of the guard constantly makes his return every day to the *prevôt des marchands*.

The duty of this magistrate consists, first, in controuling the accounts of the estate and income of the city, arising from the rents of lands and houses, the tolls of markets, and the warfage on the banks of the river ; and, on the other hand, in defraying the expences due for the salary of the officers, the repairs of buildings, the supporting the quays and fountains, the charges of the opera house, and whatever else may be required for the embellishment and decoration of the city, especially on high festivals, and solemn occasions : add to this, that as the lieutenant general of the *police* settles the capitation to be paid by all the communities of arts and mysteries ; so the *prevôt des marchands* settles what is payable by the individual citizens in their private capacity. He is also authorized jointly to assist the receiver of the King's revenues, in adjusting the duties that are appropriated for the payment of the interest of the contracts of the *hotel de ville* ; as also what is allowed towards the maintenance of the general hospital, as before-mentioned.

The next branch of the office of this city magistrate consists, in his having the sole conservancy of the river Seine, and all other navigable rivers falling into it, within the space of thirty leagues on each side of Paris : incident to this, he has the sole jurisdiction over the boats and merchandizes navigated thereon ; and determines all disputes between the masters of the vessels and the owners of the goods ; grants licences

to the tanners, dyers, and millers, to erect stages upon the streams, to serve the purposes of their several trades; and takes cognizance of whatever nuisances may arise from thence: has the direction of all the floats of wood that are brought into the city; and appoints in what yards, and in what manner, they shall be piled for sale: he issues out orders for repairing and cleansing the public fountains, common shores, and channels, running through any part of the town; and, in general, all the ports and quays on each side of the river, within the city, are under his jurisdiction.

In all these several functions, he is assisted by the four *eschevins*, who accordingly divide the duty; the one to look after the rents of the estates, and the leases and repairs of the houses; the other, to settle all the public expences for the supporting the quays on the rivers, and the pipes and aqueducts of all the fountains; in which they are likewise assisted by numbers of other inhabitants in the several quarters of the city, called *quarteniers*; who are joined also by a yet greater number, called *cinqquantiniers*, or fiftieth men, and *dixiniers*, or tenth men, chosen out of the most substantial citizens: these do not act in a corporate capacity, like the common-council-men of the city of London, but may rather be looked upon as so many inquest-men, to give notice to the *eschevins*, of all defaults, and want of repairs, or other nuisances, in any matters which concern the city magistrates to rectify. This institution seems to resemble the antient divisions of our counties in England, into hundreds, half hundreds, tenth, or tything-men. In the mean while, it is the more particular duty of the city ushers, to go different rounds every day, to visit all
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the *recevoirs* of the fountains, and the banks of the rivers ; and to make their report of their state and condition. To this purpose, the one or other of the *eschevins* attends at the *hotel de ville*, every day of the week ; and on every Monday morning, the *prevôt des marchands*, attended by these, and the other magistrates of his office, holds a chamber of audience, to decide all contests, with regard either to the embarking or landing of goods ; and the fixing the price of sale on all provisions, according to the quantity that arrive by water. But if any criminal matter arises at any of the above places, the *lieutenant de police*, or the other judges of the *chatelet*, take immediate cognizance ; and the *prevôt des marchands* has no right to interfere.

From hence we may observe the separate functions of these two great officers ; the one, as a magistrate of the *chatelet*, being to secure the peace ; the other, as a magistrate of the city, to promote the conveniency of the inhabitants. Both these duties, I apprehend, are jointly comprised in the office of Lord-mayor of London : but here they being separate, and as two jurisdictions, by too nearly approaching each other, are frequently apt to clash ; so great disputes have formerly arisen, between these two magistrates, concerning the extent and boundaries of their respective powers ; of which it is no farther necessary for me to take notice, than that the whole was reconciled by the edict of June 1700 ; which, in allotting to each their particular provinces, prescribed the rules for supplying the city with the chief necessary articles of life ; to which end, the *lieutenant de police* has the jurisdiction over all

the provisions that are brought by land ; and the *prevôt des marchands* over what is brought by water carriage.

Such care being taken, that the city should be supplied with provisions, under the direction of both these magistrates ; it is an unhappy circumstance, that their chief difficulty should arise, in procuring the most essential necessary articles of fire and water, which ought rather to be attained with the greatest ease, and at the cheapest rate.

The procuring a sufficient supply of fire-wood, as they have few coal-mines in France to supply the want of it, is one of the most material points of their *police* in general ; to this purpose they are obliged still to keep in force a multitude of ancient ordonnances for the preservation of the woods and forests throughout the kingdom, the chief of which are contained in what is called the great ordonnance *des eaux et forrêts*, dated August 1699, which in several articles, particularly in that under the title of the *police*, and conservation of the forests, gives directions with respect to the kingdom in general, as to the times for felling, the measurement of the loads and faggots, and the manner of carriage by land or by floats ; all which are under the jurisdiction of the *table de marbre*, said to be so called from the judges of it anciently sitting round such a table : the several officers under this jurisdiction, in the nature of our justices in eyre, annually make their visitations throughout the several divisions over which they are appointed, to take cognisance of the state and condition of all the woods, and the service they may be fit for, of which they make a process verbal, and take an account of what is intended to be lopped for fuel, or destined to remain to grow up to timber. Were it not for such a strict inspection, the

woods

woods in general, even now greatly thined, might have been wholly wasted, as the unlicensed consumption for fuel would have prevented any from arriving to the full growth to serve other purposes, especially that of the navy.

To these general directions for the manner and time of supplying the proper provision of fire-wood, there are many regulations calculated for the particular benefit of this metropolis, relating to the quality, measurement, and price of what is brought here, and the manner in which the several species are to be laid up in separate piles, for the sworn measurers to mark and make a registry of them; nor must any be exposed to sale, until a sample of the billets and faggots are shewn to the *lieutenant de police*, or the *prevôt des marchands*, according as they are brought, either by land or by water; who are then to set their price upon them, and which is marked on a band role, and tied to each pile or boat load, with an express inhibition, under the severest penalties, against selling the same, for more than the fixed and rated price, so marked by authority. Another ordonnance, dated January 1724, adds several new articles to these, concerning the public hours of sale, or the transporting any out of the city without a particular permission: thus vigilant and careful are they obliged to be for the preservation and sale of a material, whose cheapness or dearness must in general influence the price of all provisions, labour, materials and manufactures.

I shall in this place add a few observations on the care that is here taken to prevent any accidents by fire, a calamity so frequently terrible in our metropolis, but which rarely happens in this; the houses and stair-cases being built with stone,

and the chimneys and partition-walls erected, conformable to several ordonnances, in such a manner, as may best prevent the like accidents: whenever by chance any house or building does take fire, the officers of the *police* have a right to enter, and taking charge of the whole, send immediate notice to the *bureau des pompes*, or engine-office, which, by the ordonnance of 1722, must have at least thirty engines, distributed in different parts of the city, as there specified, always kept in good repair, with 50 men in their constant pay, under the name of the *gardes des pompes*, who, upon the alarm given, are forthwith to conduct and play the engines at the place required. The *quarteniers* opening the plugs of the fountains, and delivering out the buckets and other utensils, usually kept at a general store-house in each quarter; at the same time the commissaries of the quarter, who keep a registry of all the masons, tylers, and carpenters, with the places of their abode, issue out summons for these to repair to the house that is on fire, which they are bound to obey under the penalty of a severe fine, and there to yield the assistance of their skill and labour, towards suppressing the same; whilst the *guet* both of horse and foot are posted at each end of the street, to prevent any persons whatsoever from entering within their lines, unless it be to carry the buckets, which are supplied from a general store-house in each quarter. Thus all idle spectators, as well as pilferers and sharpers, are kept out from impeding and embarrassing those who are immediately employed in quenching the fire, whilst the goods that are carried out are conducted by a guard to some other place of safety. The proprietor of the house, in which the
 accident

accident first happened, is not only subjected to a severe fine, but obliged to pay a pecuniary gratification to the officers of the *police*, who entered his house, for their extraordinary duty on such an occasion.

As the supply of water is no less material an article than that of fuel, it is surprising, that in a city, so well regulated in all other respects, where no expences seem to be spared for the procuring other conveniences, and where the people are so ingenious in contriving the arts and methods of procuring them; it must, I say, seem surprising, that no other methods are here practised for conveying water to the Inhabitants, than by pails-full sold about the streets, as milk is in London.

Those who have been some time at Paris, must have observed, that the stream of the river Seine is frequently troubled by sudden great rains, that many boats are ranged on each side for the conveniency of washing linen; and that several trades, such as dyers, scowerers, and tanners, are established either on its banks, or in boats fixed in the middle; add to this, that it is the ultimate reception of all the common shores and kennels of the city; for which reasons it must be supposed, that the water in many places, and at particular times, is rendered unfit for the common service of the houses: there are a multitude of rules and orders therefore prescribed, when, and how deep, and in what parts of the currents, the pails are to be dipt, so as to take up the element clear from any other mixture; and when it is so, it is certainly as wholesome a water as can be drank, and proper for every other service of a family; though strangers at their first coming sometimes feel a particular effect from it. But
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for the conveniency of such as may not like this water, or live in distant quarters from the river, there are public fountains erected and supplied by three great *recevoirs*, from springs collected together in the country adjoining ; the one at a village called *le Pré St. Gervais*, the other at Rungis, and the third from Arceuil : this last is esteemed to be the best. It is calculated, that the whole quantity of water from these three aqueducts, amounts to 111 inches diameter, 60 of which are destined for the royal palaces, and the remaining 51 are distributed in pipes to 26 fountains, erected in different parts of the city, for public use : but as these, in dry seasons, often fail, therefore, for a surer supply, two pumps or water-engines are fixed in the river near the bridge of *Notre Dame*, which throw up the water, by two pipes, into a cistern placed on the banks of the river ; from whence the water is again pumped up through two other pipes, of six inches diameter each, into a *recevoir* sustained on the top of one of the houses on the bridge, being 60 feet high, as they pretend, from the common level of the water ; and from thence it is distributed, in small pipes, to 16 other fountains in different parts of the city ; so that there are in all 42 fountains. But as the fountains, supplied by the springs, often fail ; and as those, supplied from the river, are sometimes liable to the same fate, either by the lowness of the stream, or by its being rendered foul, or obstructed in winter by ice, there is a communication between the pipes of all the fountains, by the means of plugs fixed in the several *recevoirs* ; by which they can mutually afford their contributions to one another, upon a want in any particular quarter. When
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all the fountains fail, the only resource must be by going to the river itself. The price of water, either drawn from the river or the fountains, is in proportion to the distance of the places at which it is sold, and is generally from one sol and a half to two sols for the *voye*, as it is called, or carriage of two pails-full. It may be imagined, that no inconsiderable number of people are employed in thus carrying about what is so universally wanted; and it is extraordinary to see what due order and discipline they observe, by filling in their turns, and giving way to each other, agreeably to many ordinances that have passed to this purpose: he therefore that would propose any other method of conveying water into the houses, must previously point out some other means of subsistence for the numbers of people who at present gain their livelihood by this method.

But I am to remark, that this city not only suffers sometimes an inconvenience from the want of water, but is equally subject, on the other hand, to a contrary inconvenience, by too great an inundation: after long winter rains, or the melting of the snows early in the spring, the river Seine, and the others running into it, are apt to swell to such a height, as to overflow their banks; by this, the regular course of the navigation is interrupted, and consequently, the city debarred from the supply of those provisions that are usually brought to it by this channel; nor is this all, for the water rising beyond its common level, naturally fills the common drains of the streets and houses, and overflows into the cellars and yards, that are below the level, with the water thus risen. Nor is this overflowing for a short time only, like what proceeds from

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the high tides at London, which retire upon the reflux, but continues here as long as the rains that occasion it. I was a witness to all this in the month of March in 1751, when the Seine, by a few days excessive rains, rose to the height of twelve yards perpendicular from its ordinary level, as it is now marked on one of the arches of the *pont royal*, on which there are several memorandums of its having risen in like manner as high, and even higher, in former years, particularly in the year 1740. At such times as these, much depends upon the vigilance, sagacity and conduct of the *lieutenant de police*, whose duty must be doubled in procuring provisions by land-carriage, when the supply by water is thus interrupted: these are the usual times, as tradition informs us, of tumults and insurrections; for since the people are made to depend upon their magistrates for a supply of their wants, they have a right to complain when a deficiency happens; and will do so, even though the magistrates are no ways the cause of it. They that would command in fair weather, must take to the helm in foul; the crew then have a right to demand their labour and skill, in lending a helping hand to save a sinking vessel. Here, to carry on the allusion, I might add a remark, that the weaker the vessel, the more necessity there is of keeping a good look out: I mean by this, that the more weak the principles are, upon which a government is founded, the more strict must be the discipline to support it: this perhaps may account for the better execution of the *police* at Paris; and excuse, if any thing can excuse, the greater neglect of it in London.

Whilst

Whilst it is the duty of the magistrates to be thus vigilant in procuring a sufficient supply of the above-mentioned general necessities, it is no less their care to settle the price, and regulate the distribution of all other provisions of life; which provisions, nevertheless, are charged with a duty upon their entry, either by land or by water. A circumstance so contrary to good policy, cannot be mentioned with any recommendation, since it is evident, that a tax upon the necessary provisions of life, must, in the end, prove a tax upon industry, and a burthen upon trade. To obviate this evil as much as possible, and prevent the sellers from raising their demands beyond the proportion of the tax they pay, these magistrates have a power to settle the price of provisions proportionably to the natural plenty, and the duty imposed; and to this purpose officers are appointed, such as measurers of corn, inspectors of meat, &c. whose distinct duties consist in examining and certifying, that the several provisions, offered to sale, are just and conformable, in goodness and measure, to the price which is fixed upon them; which being settled according to the quantity exposed to sale, and the duty that is levied, is from thence called *le prix taxé*; to which all sellers are bound to conform. And in order to procure them to be brought into the city at as cheap a rate as possible, numbers of ordonnances have passed against all forestallers, regraters and engrossers; which are much better executed than our obsolete laws intended for the same purpose in England. Besides which, there is an express prohibition for any persons to purchase out of Paris, within the distance of ten leagues of it, any corn or grain destined for the consumption.

of the city ; by which means all the proprietors within that space, by not being able to sell their corn upon the spot, are obliged to bring it to the public markets, where the greatness of the quantity naturally tends to diminish the price : agreeably to the same *police*, those who deal in the sale of any other provisions whatsoever ; are not only obliged to bring the same to market, but to expose the whole publicly to view : the different markets being so regulated, as not only to have the days, but the hours, fixed for the sale of each sort of provisions ; nor can any one, who buys in order to retale again at second-hand, purchase the quantity he wants, before ten of the clock on each market-day, in order that the choice and preference may be given to all house-keepers, who buy for their own use.

After reciting these regulations, I have here set down the present price of the chief necessaries, as now sold at the common markets at Paris, which being compared to the price for which the same kind of provisions are sold in London, a judgment may be formed, which city has the advantage in point of cheapness in these main articles, allowing for the different value of money, in proportion to its greater plenty and scarcity in either kingdom. At Paris, for example, in this present month of March 1754, the prices are as follow :

Wheat

		<i>livres.</i>	<i>sols.</i>
* Wheat <i>per setier</i> ,	- - - - -	25	—
Rye ditto,	- - - - -	14	—
§ Oats ditto,	- - - - -	20	—
Hay <i>per load</i> ,	- - - - -	44	—
Bread, first sort, <i>per lb.</i>	- - - - -	—	4
Ditto, second,	- - - - -	—	3
Beef <i>per lb.</i>	- - - - -	—	8
Veal ditto,	- - - - -	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mutton ditto,	- - - - -	—	8
Salt ditto,	- - - - -	—	11
Fire-wood, in billets called <i>bois de compte</i> ,	} fifty-two in each load, - - - - -	18	8
Ditto sold <i>per measure</i> ,			
Faggots <i>per hundred</i> ,	- - - - -	12	10

Were I now to proceed to an account of the price of labour, which is generally determined by the price of provisions,

* A *setier* of wheat or rye, Paris measure, contains 12 bushels, and a bushel weighs 20 pounds; so that a *setier* is 240 pounds. A quarter of corn, London measure, contains 8 bushels, and a bushel weighs 60 pounds; so that a quarter is 480 pounds; consequently, a quarter of corn, London measure, is equal to two *setiers*, Paris measure.

§ A *setier* of oats, Paris measure, contains 24 bushels, so called; though in fact, each contains only half a bushel, wheat measure. One of these half bushels contains 4 *picotins*, and each *picotin*, 2 *litrons*. To reduce this to London measure, we may compute 2 *litrons* to make one quartern, and 4 *picotins* to make one peck, &c.

|| A load of hay at Paris consists of 100 *bottes* or trusses. Each *botte* must weigh 12 pounds.

sions, and recite the several edicts and ordonnances, which regulate the price of all commodities and manufactures throughout the kingdom, it would exceed the bounds to which I am at present confined, I shall therefore only take notice of the *police* of this city with regard to the rules and regulations for the make and sale of all commodities which are under the influence of its jurisdiction.

We may imagine, that in so absolute a government as this of France, the greatest part of their trade is subject to monopolies, or the direction of communities with exclusive privileges of exercising their several arts and mysteries: accordingly, we may find no less than 124 companies established at Paris, created by letters patent, there being scarce any art, mystery, or occupation, but what has its particular company; of which six are generally distinguished from the rest by the title of the great companies, or *corps des marchands*; namely, the drapers, druggists, mercers, skinners, hatters, and goldsmiths; no person can exercise any trade belonging to any one of the communities, without first being made free of it, the qualification to which, pursuant to the general edict of March 1673, must be his having served an apprenticeship, and his having passed an examination as to his skill and knowledge in the business he would set up: these local qualifications would be too restrictive, were it not allowed to compromise the want of them by a sum paid for the purchase of the freedom, which is the more necessary at Paris, where the communities are divided into so many distinct branches, that a man is oftentimes obliged to be of three or four companies, in order to enable him to carry on the whole of the business relative to one.

one. All these communities are governed, not only by the rules annexed in their letters patent, but by such particular bye-laws as they may think proper to constitute amongst themselves, for preventing of those frauds and deceits, which might be injurious to the credit of their manufactures. To prevent which, the ordonnance of 1669 directs, that the masters and wardens of the several companies should make their visitations amongst all concerned in the same mystery, to see that every species of their manufactures answer to the standard prescribed, and the marks that are put upon them: the penalties are very exemplary upon all persons presuming to put counterfeit marks, by way of sanction, to goods that do not answer the standard; which penalties are particularly enforced against all such frauds committed by goldsmiths, silversmiths and jewellers. This ordonnance likewise gives competency of jurisdiction to all mayors and other judicial officers of towns, where any manufactures are established, to hear and adjudge all complaints between masters and journeymen, concerning wages; and so strict are the magistrates in preventing every tendency to any tumults or disorders; that should such journeymen at any time combine together not to work but upon their own exorbitant terms, as we know is frequently the case in London, they would soon be sent to the galleys, and there tied down to a more disagreeable task, without any wages at all.

I shall now return to mention an additional duty, which belongs to the inspectors of the *police* of this city, which I omitted before, that I might insert it here in its more proper place. These officers are obliged to visit as often as possible,
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and at least once a week, the shops of all the jewellers, salesmen, upholsterers, brokers, and other dealers in second-hand goods, to examine their books and registers, which they are obliged, by several edicts, ordonnances and declarations, to keep, being first paged and countermarked by the senior commissary of the quarter; in which they are duly to make a fair entry of the quantity and quality of all the second-hand goods which they buy; as likewise of the names and places of abode of the persons from whom they purchase the same: which registers or entries are to be examined and countermarked every month by the aforesaid inspectors; by which these second-hand dealers are deterred from buying any stolen goods; or, if such should happen to be bought, recourse may be had to the persons who sold them.

It must be observed, that the citizens of Paris are not united into one body politic, as the citizens of London; but yet there is a general syndic, composed of the principal members of the chief communities, who meet once or twice a week at the town-hall, though they have no honorary dignities, like our court of lord-mayor and aldermen, but act only as a committee deputed by the rest, to examine and report to the *lieutenant de police*, what grievances are wanting to be redressed; for this magistrate has the superintendency over all the communities, which I mentioned before, as being one branch of his office, and who accordingly has the right of visitation, to enquire, in a summary manner, into the byelaws of each, and to annul or alter such as may interfere with the general good of the whole. I must also remark, that although there be several parts of Paris, called the suburbs,

urbs, yet they are all indistinctly under the same jurisdiction; and the inhabitants are equally *bourgeois* of the city; the *prévôt des marchands*, as well as the *lieutenant de police*, extending their authority over all the quarters within the *banlieu*, or what we call the bills of mortality, excepting a few districts, such as the abbey de St. Germain, and the temple, &c. which, belonging to the church, are places of privilege, where persons may exercise any trades, without being free of a company.

But notwithstanding all the rules, which the wardens of companies may prescribe for the due make and sale of their goods and manufactures, we must be far from taking it for granted, that no frauds are committed, nor impositions exacted, in the course of their trade and dealings. But whenever these are complained of, the remedy is at hand, by a short method of trial; a consular jurisdiction being established for that purpose, by the edict of 1673, called the *code marchand*. The officers of this tribunal, consisting of a judge and four consuls, are annually elected by and out of the most eminent citizens in the several communities. They are empowered to take cognizance in a summary manner, in the nature of the court of conscience in London, of all disputes between buyers and sellers any ways relating to commercial matters; having a competency of jurisdiction, independant of any other court of judicature, to settle and determine all questions concerning bills of exchange, and remittances of money between merchant and merchant; all differences between the merchant and the artists, or workmen who buy in order to fashion the goods for sale again. They take cog-

nizance of all wages, salaries or fees to brokers, factors, or book-keepers, in all affairs relative to their traffic, and of all contests on account of assurances, and other engagements concerning commerce at sea; as also for the freight or hire of ships; and even ecclesiastics and gentlemen may by this edict be summoned before them, upon any disputes concerning the sale of their corn, or wine, or cattle. Upon the whole, this jurisdiction takes cognizance of all disputes about bills delivered in by any dealer, tradesman, or shopkeeper whatsoever, provided it be of goods wherein it is their trade to deal; upon which a satisfaction may be obtained by summoning the party to have the bill taxed, who must submit to such deductions as shall by the court be thought reasonable; the judge and consuls having power of summoning others of the same trade to examine them concerning the price of the goods upon which the question arises.

I have mentioned, that this court is composed of a judge and four consuls, annually elected by the chief of the citizens; a privilege rarely granted to the people of this country! There were many contests formerly about the manner of making this election; but after having received several alterations, it was at last settled by the King's declaration of the 18th of March 1728, That the judge and consuls shall, within the three days before their office is to expire, summon sixty of the most eminent tradesmen out of the several communities, who being assembled, are to choose thirty from among themselves, which thirty must immediately proceed to the choice of a judge and four consuls for the ensuing year; each

each of which must belong to a different company ; two of the new elected consuls must enter immediately into office, joined to two that were in the office the year before ; and the other new-elected consuls are to enter into office six months after ; so that there always remain two, who having been six months in the office, can instruct the noviciates in the nature of their duty. And it must be observed, that the succeeding magistrates must belong to different fraternities from those who were elected before ; that every company may have its turn in supplying this part of judicature, which has a general cognizance over all their trades.

It is well known, that here is also a council of commerce, first erected in 1664, and new modelled by the declarations of 1700 and 1722, at which deputies, from the several principal cities of the kingdom, attend, and assist every Monday and Thursday : but as this board is intended to regulate the affairs of commerce of the nation in general, I must remember, that I am now treating only of what relates to the city of Paris in particular.

After having considered these methods established for the ease and convenience of the inhabitants, it may be useful to examine another branch of their *police* calculated for the same purpose, with regard to the embellishment and decoration of the city itself, particularly in the articles of paving, cleaning, and enlightening the streets.

No other regulations were anciently made for the paving the streets of Paris, than that every inhabitant should, at his own expence, pave the space of ground for a small distance before his house ; from hence many inconveniences were

complained of, on account of the unevenness and want of uniformity of the pavement; these need not be enumerated, since we are too sensible of them by still persevering in the same method at London. This however was changed at Paris by the declaration of 1609, when the care of paving the streets was put under the joint direction of the *prevôt des marchands*, and the commissaries of the *chatelet*, and the expence defrayed by a tax imposed upon each house in proportion to its front towards the street; but several disputes arising concerning the competency of power between these different magistrates, it was at last found more proper to put the regulation under a separate establishment; and accordingly, by the edict registered in 1640, the direction of it was committed to the *bureau de finance*, or, as we may call it, the board of treasury; and a fund was appropriated out of certain duties payable for the *barrage*, or toll at the barriers of the city, on the entry of certain merchandise levied for this purpose, in lieu and by way of compromise for releasing the tax on the houses, which was then taken off. As the controller-general is the chief of this office, there is a commissary of the treasury appointed under him, who is to be attentive to this part of the *police* with regard to the regulation and the expence of the pavement: and for his assistance, by another edict dated in September 1708, the additional employments of an inspector-general of the pavement, and four controllers of the *barrage*, were erected, *en titre d'office*, who, jointly with the above commissary, are, from time to time, to examine the condition of the works that have been finished,

finished, and what new may be wanting, of all which they make their report to the board of the treasury.

The chief branches of this duty consist in the choice of proper materials—the manner of using them—and the expence of the whole. With regard therefore to the first object, it is directed by many ordonnances, from what quarries the stones shall be brought, being such as are most durable, and of what assize in length and breadth, being such as have been proved to be most fit for paving. Next, a community is established at Paris for the better carrying on the art and mystery of paving, in which a certain number of visitors are appointed to see, that the master paviours and their journey-men perform the work, according to the bye-laws and statutes confirmed to their society by the *arrêt* of council in 1604. And lastly, that the carriage of the materials destined to this public work, may be rendered as cheap as possible from the respective quarries out of which they are dug, all hired carts and stage waggons, passing by and going to Paris, are obliged to take in a certain quantity, and deliver the same *gratis*, at the first barrier of the city through which they pass: and the paving and repairing is generally lett out by lease, for a certain number of years, to such undertakers, as shall offer to perform it, at the cheapest rate, upon the conditions and covenants as therein set forth, giving security, at the same time, for the due execution thereof. But whatever number or weight of stones are wanting to compleat the quantity contracted for, over and above what are conveyed by these carriages, must be brought either by land or water, at the expence of the contractor.

As I have procured a copy of the last lease, dated the 1st of January 1747, to continue in force for the term of nine years, I shall here set down the substance of all the articles, that we may be fully apprized of the conditions necessary to be performed, should it ever be thought proper to delegate such an undertaking to a separate commission, for the better pavement of the streets of London and Westminster.

The adjudication of this lease was granted to the present undertaker, to be by him performed in the manner hereunder covenanted, upon the consideration of the annual payment of 295,000 *livres*, which is 12,905 pounds sterling, being the lowest sum for which it was undertaken to be executed. The preamble of the *arrêt* of council, by which the lease is granted, specifies the several parts of Paris, and the precincts adjoining, comprized in this bargain, containing 578,880 *toises* of ground in *superficie*. Note, one *toise* Paris, is equal to two yards English. These are to be kept in repair at the cost of the undertaker, and upon the following conditions.

“ That, out of the above number, there shall be 55000
 “ *toises* of superficial pavement turned up, and new laid, every
 “ year, in the several places marked out, according to a state
 “ that shall be made by the inspector general, in the presence
 “ of the commissary of the pavement, and approved of by the
 “ controller-general of the finances.—In order to execute
 “ this, the undertaker is to erect a number of tool-houses,
 “ furnished with all necessary tools and utensils, and to engage
 “ proper and skilful workmen, for whom he is to be respon-
 “ sible ; who are to begin in the month of April, the pave-
 “ ments that were appointed the year before ; and afterwards
 “ proceed

“ proceed to the pavements appointed for the ensuing year ;
 “ and finish the whole in the month of October at latest.——
 “ In the new layings ; such old stones, as shall be soft, and
 “ under six inches in breadth and length, shall be put aside,
 “ and replaced by new ones from eight to nine inches on all
 “ sides, solid, and well squared.——After the whole pave-
 “ ment is taken up, for the space at least of six *toises* in length,
 “ the trench shall be cleared of all the earth and broken flints,
 “ and new dug, so as to admit of at least six inches of gravel
 “ or sand taken fresh out of the river, or such quarries as shall
 “ be directed by the controller-general ; the undertaker not
 “ to have the liberty, on any pretence whatever, to take
 “ the same from any other place, under the penalty of 200
 “ *livres*.——In the trench thus dug, the old stones being new
 “ chipped, and the new ones sharpened and smoothed, shall
 “ be laid in even lines, exactly to the antient levels, neither
 “ sinking nor raising them, under any pretext whatsoever, at
 “ least without an express order from the commissary, upon
 “ the report of the inspector-general ; each pavement to be
 “ ranged in strait lines with one another, with the smallest
 “ joints that are possible, either in the upright or the level ;
 “ and equally beat down by rammers of 50 or 60 pounds
 “ weight ; so that there shall remain no holes : and the swell-
 “ lings shall be exactly raised, according to the different ri-
 “ sings of the streets or causeways : after which, the whole
 “ must be covered with gravel half an inch thick, spread
 “ equally over.——Whenever a causeway is to be made in
 “ the suburbs, and out parts of the city, no old stones must
 “ be used, but such as are at least 15 inches in length to 9 in
 “ breadth.

“ breadth, and as much in height; but the new stones, that
 “ are brought to replace the old ones, must be from 20 inches
 “ in length, to 16 inches in breadth, and 20 inches thick:
 “ they must be put in a trench upon a bed of gravel, in the
 “ manner prescribed above.—In all the repairs of the pave-
 “ ment, there must be a ninth part new; and this ninth
 “ part may be carried on in a line, in the causeways and
 “ streets of the suburbs, and even in some parts of Paris;
 “ but when the length of the new runs on to 100 *toises*, then
 “ they must begin to lay a proportionable quantity of old
 “ pavement; so that the new may turn out upon the whole to
 “ be no more than a ninth part of the total of the *superficies*.
 “ If at any time the reparations be greater at some places, and
 “ less in others, a compensation must be made at the end of
 “ the year, or in the next succeeding.—Before any work is
 “ begun in a street, there must be laid in at least four cart
 “ loads of new pavement, and as many of sand, and so to be
 “ continued as the work goes on, that there may be no inter-
 “ ruption for the want of the necessary materials: the refuse
 “ stones and rubbish must be carried off in such a manner,
 “ that none remain twenty four hours after the street be new
 “ paved.—The sides of the pavement in the roads on the
 “ out parts of the city, must be so humoured, either in sink-
 “ ing or raising, according to the circumstances, that there
 “ shall not be more than two inches of descent in each *toise*,
 “ to prevent them from being too steep and slippery.—If
 “ in any of the streets or causeways, there should be altera-
 “ tions ordered, either in raising or lowering, or in the de-
 “ scents, or strait lines; the undertaker shall claim no gra-
 tuity,

" tuity, unless they exceed more than fifteen *toises* ; if they
 " do not, the removing the earth, and the changes and aug-
 " mentations shall be made at his own expence. — In the
 " repairing the bye-streets and alleys, where the pavement is
 " made up of flints and rubbish, there shall be a ninth part
 " new ; and if there be not sufficient quantity of flints for
 " repairing the remaining eight parts, the supply must be
 " made up of the refuse stones of the other streets. — The
 " sides of the streets, alleys, and causeways, shall be kept in
 " an even manner, and all holes and ruts filled up : and the
 " new pavements to be made therein, shall be of the same
 " kind and assize of stones, as before described ; except that
 " in these last mentioned, the refuse stones from the other
 " streets, which are of five or six inches at top and bottom,
 " may be employed, provided they be hard, and not da-
 " maged. Under all the pavements, old or new, that are to
 " be repaired, the trench shall be dug, and the pavement
 " well joined and covered with gravel, and rammed close, as
 " before articulated ; and for all these little repairs, there shall
 " be four tool-houses established, consisting of an overseer,
 " dependant on the undertaker, with paviours, workmen,
 " levellers ; and tombrels for the bringing the stones or new
 " sand, and to carry off the refuse dirt that shall be made.
 " These are to work, without interruption, all the year, except
 " in frosty, or rainy weather ; and shall be furnished with all
 " necessary utensils. There shall also be a fifth tool-house,
 " composed of workmen as above, but circumscribed to be
 " only in the out-parts ; who are not to begin until the
 " month of May, and finish in October. Whatever new

" pavement is there made during the term of the lease, shall
 " also be kept in repair.—When in these particular parts
 " there be any holes, or channels made in the gravel roads
 " on the side, by the earth being washed away, they shall be
 " filled up and raised, if the props or abutments are suffi-
 " ciently high.—There shall be every year 2000 square
 " *toises* of new pavement, in the places that shall be di-
 " rected by the controller-general of the finances.—For
 " the construction of this pavement, the undertaker is
 " bound to the removing and carrying away 800 *toises* of
 " earth. If there be more or less removed in one year, an
 " allowance is to be made in the next; and the whole to be
 " accounted for at the end of the lease.—The quantity of
 " stones to supply all the works abovementioned, is not to be
 " less for each year than 691,000 weight; each thousand
 " weight to be composed of 1122 stones; to be brought from
 " the several quarries, and laid up at the particular places at
 " Paris as therein specified. Of each species of which, as
 " fast as they arrive, notice must be sent to the commissary
 " and inspector-general, or his deputies, who shall certify
 " their quantity and quality, that they may be employed ac-
 " cordingly. What shall be defective, are to be set aside,
 " and not comprised in the account.—The works, when
 " compleated, must be every year measured, and the accounts
 " delivered in; namely, for the odd jobs in December, and
 " for the new setts in the May of the year succeeding: but if
 " any deficiency is found, no report can be made, nor any
 " order issued for money, until the complaint be rectified.
 " In these accounts delivered in, express mention must be
 " made

“ made of the quantity of stones brought in, according to the
 “ visitations at the ports, and the registry of the carriers, ve-
 “ rified by the commissary and inspectors : the undertaker is
 “ also bound, under the penalty of 1000 *livres*, not to sell, or
 “ use in any private works, any of the stones brought in to
 “ furnish the public : he must likewise deliver a note every
 “ week of what number of stones he uses in making or repair-
 “ ing the channels of the public fountains.—No channel is
 “ to be made to any fountain, without permission of the office
 “ of finance, under the penalty of 50 *livres* : nor must they
 “ be repaired by any but the undertaker of the pavements ;
 “ nor in any other manner, but such as shall be directed by
 “ the commissary and inspector-general : and if it should hap-
 “ pen, that there should be any holes by the bursting of the
 “ pipes of the fountains, through the neglect of any indivi-
 “ dual, the undertaker shall repair the pavement ; and after
 “ giving notice to the proprietor, proceed to mend the pipes ;
 “ delivering a bill of the expence to the office of the finance,
 “ which they will oblige the proprietor of the pipes to pay,
 “ in preference to any other creditors. But if any sinking
 “ should appear, through the badness of the pavement,
 “ the undertaker must repair it at his own expence.—
 “ There shall be no joining of the thresholds or entries of
 “ houses to the pavement, by any other person but the un-
 “ dertaker, on the penalty of 20 *livres* on the transgressor.
 “ —Nor must, under the like penalty, the holes made to
 “ fix the scaffolding or props to any house, be filled up by
 “ any other person but the undertaker, who is bound to
 “ repair the same, within twenty-four hours after the props

“ or scaffolds are taken away.—The undertaker may dig for,
 “ and bring away, the sand he shall find fit for his purpose,
 “ upon any ground, paying the proprietor a reasonable satisf-
 “ faction.—The undertaker must attend every day at his
 “ own office, and once a week at the public office of direct-
 “ ion, upon the penalty of 50 *lives*. Every penalty, that is
 “ levied upon him, is to be employed in making new pave-
 “ ments at such places as shall be thought proper. If any
 “ contest arises about the pavement, it must be decided defi-
 “ nitely by the order of the finances; and all persons are pro-
 “ hibited from seeking their remedy from any other juris-
 “ diction, under the penalty of 200 *lives*.—The under-
 “ taker is to be at the charge of the lease, and all incidental
 “ expences relating thereto.—He must also give good and
 “ sufficient security, by responsible persons, who are to enter
 “ into their recognizance, before the secretary of the council,
 “ previous to the execution and delivery of the lease.”

I have offered the above translation of the articles contained
 in this lease, that we might comprehend from thence, the
 whole system of the administration for regulating the pavement
 of Paris, esteemed to be the best paved city in Europe: from
 whence it may be most material for us to observe, that the
 undertaking is subservient to the direction of one department
 only, consisting of officers no way interested in the lease, but
 invested with a power to direct the work to be executed to
 the advantage of the public, in an equal, uniform and solid
 manner: that the assise of the stones being the same on all
 sides, the turning them up yields always the same even *super-*
ficies; and makes it so much the longer, before the whole can
 be

be worn away : that one part in nine being new every year, the whole pavement of the city is new in the space of nine years, which is the usual term granted to every new undertaker : that work-shops or tool-houses being placed in several parts of the city, if any accidental defect is discovered by the inspector or visitors in going their rounds, upon sending to the workmen nearest at hand, they immediately attend upon the summons to repair it. And lastly, that this whole work is undertaken, upon the king's paying only the sum of 12,905 pounds, which we must suppose is executed at a much less expence, to answer the profit expected by the undertaking.

Next to the duty of the pavour, follows that of the scavenger : this last is the more material, as it contributes not only to the neatness and embellishment of the city, but to the health of the inhabitants ; it being recited by many ancient ordonnances, that the unwholesome air arising from the filth of the streets, was the cause of the many distempers that were heretofore frequent in the capital. These ordonnances were imperfectly executed until the year 1666, when the King established a council of *police*, consisting of the principal magistrates of the city, wherein, amongst other matters, it was thought proper to make some reformation in the particular articles relating to the cleaning and enlightening the streets : the King accordingly having taken upon himself to rectify these, as well as the pavement, they were equally committed to the direction of the board of treasury ; in pursuance of which, a tax was imposed on every house in proportion to its front, and receivers appointed, one in each quarter of the city, to collect and pay what was destined to defray the expence. In

1704, this tax on the houses being redeemed, by the inhabitants paying a certain estimated sum to be exempted from it, the office of the receivers in each quarter was suppressed, and the expence, of both cleaning and lighting the streets, was supplied by a duty on the entry of wine into Paris. Accordingly, the *lieutenant de police* was empowered to lease out, or farm lett the office of scavenger to such person as would engage to perform it at the lowest price. But it was soon found to be impossible for one singly to execute a general work, so daily necessary, at one and the same time, in every part of the city. Whereupon a new edict, by way of declaration, was made in 1714, by which it was allowed, that the scavenger's duty might be leased out to separate undertakers, for each quarter of the city; each of whom should be obliged to furnish six tombrels, with three horses and two men, to take away the dirt in his respective quarter: this is usually undertaken upon the bargain of being paid at the rate of 2000 *livres* a year for every tombrel; which accordingly makes the annual expence, in each quarter, to amount to 12,000 *livres*, or 437 pounds 10 shillings, and the city being divided into 20 quarters, the King's pay, distributed as above to all the undertakers, must amount to 240,000 *livres*, or 10,500 pounds sterling *per annum*. These leases are usually made to continue in force for the term of three years.

After this account of the expence that is allowed; I should proceed to explain the several parts of the duty which these scavengers are required to perform: in doing this, were I to enumerate all the articles and covenants contained in their lease, it would be too tedious, and no ways necessary, since it
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will be sufficient to describe in what manner the duty is really performed, agreeably to the terms contained in their bargain. We find, to speak of the duty in general, that, to serve all the quarters of the city, there must be 120 tombrels, with two men and three horses to each, employed every day in the several districts of the city : to render the execution of this service the more easy, every householder is obliged to sweep into a heap, all the dirt that lies before his door, house, or garden wall, by nine of the clock, every morning ; of which timely notice is given, by the ringing of a little hand-bell, by one whom the commissary of the quarter appoints to go through all the streets of his division for that purpose. In half an hour after, the inspectors of the *police* make their rounds, to see that the heaps are properly made and placed ; for the neglect of which, the proprietor is liable to a penalty to be imposed by the commissary. At ten of the clock, the carts come by, with the two men, one with a spade to take up the dirt, and the other with a broom to sweep it in : thus they pass from door to door ; and taking up each heap until their tombrels are loaded, they conduct them out of town, to be thrown upon the *voiries*, or places appropriated for the heaping up of dirt and rubbish, in several parts of the out-skirts of the town ; or else to fill up the holes of the sand-pits and stone quarries near adjoining, in such manner as shall, from time to time, be directed : but they are not obliged to take away the rubbish of any house, that is repairing ; nor the refuse stocks of any gardens ; the proprietors themselves being obliged to remove these at their own expence, and are severely fined upon any neglect of so doing. But with regard

to the dirt and mud in the middle of the streets, other tombrels are employed, at stated hours, every morning and afternoon, both in summer and winter, to sweep and throw into their tombrels, whatever they may be able to contain, according as the weather may be wet or dry; particularly they are to be more assiduous in their duty in hard winters, to carry off, or sweep away into the kennels, all the ice or snow that may fall; for which extraordinary duty, whenever it happens, they are allowed a gratification at the end of the year, over and above their annual salary. They make as much haste as possible in going and returning from the places where they lay their dirt; nor must they employ their tombrels in any other work whatsoever.

The lighting the streets at night is another duty, which is likewise substituted to such undertakers as will do it for the least sum of money: the expence of this is usually estimated at 300,000 *livres*, or 13,125 pounds sterling: to answer which, as the buildings in the city began to encrease, the antient tax was imposed on the new houses, as not being comprised in the former bargain: and in the beginning of the late war in 1744, a new tax was laid even on the old houses, under pretext, that the bargain they had before made for the redemption, was too favourable on their side.

Two persons are generally contracted with for this undertaking; the one to find the lanthorns, cords and pullies; and the other to supply the candles: for the streets are here illuminated by hanging lanthorns on the middle of a cord, that crosses the street; and is fixed to pullies on each side, at fifteen feet high, and about fifteen yards distance from

from one another. There are 6500 lanthorns, and consequently as many candles consumed every time they are lighted ; which is only twenty times in a month, being laid aside during the moon-light nights : and are never lighted, but from the last day of September, to the first day of April, each year ; being taken down and set apart, during all the summer months.

Each lanthorn is supposed to consume about fifty pounds of candles every season. When there is no moon-light at all, they burn four in the pound ; and on the encrease and decline of the moon, they burn eight in the pound. The person who contracts for this supply, delivers to the commissary of each quarter, the quantity destined for that district ; from which magazine, he delivers out every Saturday, a sufficient quantity to serve for the ensuing week, to a certain species of officers, called *lanterniers*, who in like manner as the lamp-lighters in the city of London, are elected in each quarter of the city to execute the duty. The election is made on some day in the beginning of August each year, by the householders assembled for that purpose at the commissary's house, where as many are nominated as there are streets in the quarter, one for every street, or rather, one for every fifteen lanthorns, for to that number the duty of each is confined. All inhabitants in their turn, even the first magistrates, submit to the execution of this duty, upon being elected ; and having the number of candles delivered to them every Saturday, as before-mentioned, they substitute some menial servant, or poor house-keeper in the same street, to perform the duty : accordingly, every evening, as soon as it begins to grow dark, the com-

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missary sends out a person, ringing a hand-bell through all the streets of his quarter, to give notice, as in the morning, for cleaning the streets; so now for lighting them; upon which each *lanternier's* servant immediately sallies out, and having a key to the iron box in which the end of every cord is fastned on the sides of the streets, lets down the lanthorn hanging on the same, and fixing his lighted candle therein, draws it up again: and thus every one having only fifteen lanthorns under his care, the whole city is illuminated, in a very short space after notice; though the light itself is indeed a very indifferent one. Let it therefore be observed, that although I have been thus particular in describing the manner in which it is performed, I do not mean it by way of comparison, much less of preference to that better method which is established by a late act of Parliament for enlightening the streets of the city of London. It is pity that method is confined to the city only; whereas here the establishment, deficient as it is, extends equally to every part of the suburbs. I may also venture to offer to our imitation, the little expence at which these three great articles are performed at Paris; namely, the paving at 12,906 pounds—the cleaning at 10,500 pounds—the lighting at 13,125 pounds—the sum total of all, 36,531 pounds.

P A R T V.

Remarks on the Extent and Circumference both of *London* and *Paris* ; the Number of their Inhabitants ; and the Necessity of circumscribing the Boundaries of each : Coucluding with an Estimate of the Expence of the *Police* at *Paris*.



WHETHER London or Paris is the larger city, being a question, often asked, I thought best to have it decided, by ocular demonstration ; and therefore requested an ingenious artist to reduce the plans of the two cities to one and the same scale ; which he accordingly executed, with their environs for the space of about five miles, taking in Kensington and Greenwich from west to east of London ; and the wood of Boulogne and the castle of Vincennes from west to east of Paris. These plans I suppose are to be had at the printsellers, where, at one view, the curious may be satisfied, that London, from the space of ground, and from the number of houses with which that space is covered, is by much the larger city, with respect to length and circumference.

But although London is by much the larger of the two, and may claim several superior advantages with regard to the wideness of its streets, and conveniencies for the foot passengers, yet I must allow, that Paris has by much the neater and more agreeable appearance; and the passages for those who go in coaches, are infinitely more easy and commodious; and its environs, if not more beautiful by nature, are certainly more magnificent by art.

The houses are all built of free-stone dug out of the quarries near at hand; and the wood fires yielding less smoke, the atmosphere is much clearer than that of London; so that the sight of the whole from any eminence, is no ways intercepted. Not that any conclusion can from hence be made, that the air is more healthful in one city than in the other, since, by the bills of mortality, we find the same proportion of advanced ages in each. I must also take the liberty of observing, that Paris, by being built as it were upon a circle, with the river Seine, scarce a third part so wide as the Thames, running through the center, makes the communication from one quarter to the other, much more short and commodious than at London; and the streets here likewise cutting cross each other, give frequent opportunities to the coaches and carts to turn to the right or left, when they see too great a crowd advancing towards them; and thus avoid making any stops in the passages; an inconvenience that rarely happens at Paris; owing perhaps also to the greater politeness of the drivers, who readily give way to each other at the first word; a complaisance, to which the draymen and hackney coachmen at London seem to be totally strangers.

To enter into a more minute description of Paris, I must add, that it contains 57 parishes, 200 churches and chapels, 138 monasteries, 60 for men, and 78 for women; and 970 streets, the names of which are, by an ordonnance in 1730, engraved or marked, in large capital letters, on a square piece of stone or wood, fixed and let in, at a proper height, to the corner house of every street; that passengers may be informed of the names without farther enquiry.

As to the number of houses in the streets, and the number of inhabitants in the houses; these cannot be ascertained, by any fixed rule or measure, without a personal enquiry at each; which being difficult to make, we must be content to approach to the truth, as near as we can, by the help of conjectures, founded on such *postulata's*, as are usually laid down in computations, by political arithmetic: however, in endeavouring to form some calculation of this nature, we cannot enter into a fairer method than that of making use of the testimony of their own authors, where, if any partiality can be presumed, it must be supposed to lay on their side.

Accordingly, some of the most reputable authors who have published their calculations on this subject, have computed, from the quantity of square acres built upon in the circumference of Paris, that the number of houses ought to amount to 30,000; but by other computations from the annual income of the *dixieme* taxed upon the rent of each house, their numbers are supposed not to be more than 28,000; let us take the difference, and put down 29,000, and allowing 20 persons to each house, which perhaps is more than they really

really contain, it may from hence be estimated, that there are 580,000 inhabitants.

There is another method of calculation, which seems to be the most conclusive of any ; I mean, the consumption of provisions, particularly of bread, which people of all ages and ranks of life, and at all times of the year, in fasts as well as festivals, equally consume. By finding out therefore the quantity of this consumption, we shall arrive very near to the knowledge of the number of the people ; by computing how many might be supposed to subsist upon such a quantity of provisions.

According to this method of calculation, if we suppose every person at Paris to eat nine pounds of bread in a week, which is the usual allowance to all servants and domestics, he would consume in the year 468 pounds of bread. Now the medium of the entries of wheat and rye, some years ago, was said to be about 82,000 *muids*, but by some entries I have seen of late, they have not amounted to near so much. However we will make our computation on the highest estimate, and suppose that 82,000 *muids* are annually entered. One *muid* of corn, Paris measure, contains 12 *setiers*, and one *setier* 12 bushels, and one bushel 20 pounds. As a *setier* therefore contains only 240 pounds, we may suppose each person to consume two *setiers*, or 480 pounds, in the year, which is a trifle more than what is above supposed ; and upon this computation of two *setiers* to each, it will appear, that to make the annual consumption of 82,000 *muids* of corn, will require 492,000 persons.

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I might here enter into a further discussion of this subject, by following the usual method of computing the number of inhabitants by the number of annual births and burials. But I must observe, that conclusions, drawn from figures only, may be oftentimes erroneous, unless we take into consideration, the facts upon which the account is stated. However, to satisfy such persons as may be desirous of comparing the bills of mortality of the city of London, with these of Paris; I have transcribed the state of the christnings, marriages, and burials at Paris for the five last years, that is, from the conclusion of the peace at Aix la Chapelle in 1748, to the present year 1754, during which time I have chiefly resided in this city.

<i>Dates of the Year.</i>		<i>Christnings.</i>		<i>Marriages.</i>		<i>Burials.</i>
1749	- -	19158	- -	4263	- -	18607
1750	- -	19035	- -	4619	- -	18084
1751	- -	19321	- -	5013	- -	16673
1752	- -	20227	- -	4359	- -	17762
1753	- -	19729	- -	4146	- -	21716

It appears by the account above, that the annual christnings at Paris exceed the burials; as on the contrary, in our bills of mortality, the annual burials in London exceed the number of christnings; but no proof can be formed from hence, either of the greater proportion of increase of people in the one, or of a decrease in the other: for as it is customary in Paris to baptise their children the instant they are born, and to send them, in a day or two after, into the adjacent

adjacent villages to be nursed ; all such who happen to die in their infant state out of the walls of the city, appear only in the registry of their christnings ; whereas in London, it being usual to delay the baptism until some days after the children are born, and to nurse them, at the same time, within the town, all such as die in this infant state, without having received the ceremony of baptism, appear only on the registry of its burials. The difference also of the number of burials in each city, depends on many various circumstances : for example ; the nobility of France, the *financiers*, and dependants on the court, reside in their hotels at Paris almost the whole year, and very few of their tradesmen have country houses : such a permanency therefore of inhabitants must be constantly increasing the number of their burials. But the nobility and country gentlemen of England pass only the winter months in London ; and even the merchants and eminent tradesmen divide their time between their counting-houses in the city, and their villas in the adjoining counties. The deaths therefore, which happen in these intermediate times of country retirement, render our bills of mortality much smaller in summer than they are in winter, which upon the whole, must make the yearly account much less than it would have been, had all the people constantly resided in town. There is another circumstance which makes the account of burials in London not so large as might be expected, from even the appearance of the resident inhabitants, I mean the number of people of different sects of religion, who, having separate burying-grounds, are not put down in the public parish register. Yet notwithstanding all these deductions, the bills
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of mortality in London are much higher than those of Paris. To account for this, another circumstance must be mentioned, which I do not find the compilers of the tables, printed in England, of the births and burials in these two cities, seem to be any ways apprised of; I mean, that the extent and circumference of the districts comprised in our bills of mortality is much larger than that of Paris, as it contains, not only all the parishes within and without the walls of the city, under the jurisdiction of the lord mayor, but also all the parishes of the city and liberty of Westminster, and the adjoining parishes of Middlesex and Surry, amounting in all, to one hundred and thirty six. Whereas the state of the registry, published at Paris, comprehends only those within what is called the *banlieu* or circuit of its jurisdiction, distinguished under the following divisions, namely; The town, containing twenty-eight parishes; the city, containing eleven; and the university, eighteen: in all fifty-seven parishes. And although these are larger than the parishes within the walls of London; yet the parishes in Westminster and Middlesex are in general larger than those of Paris, as appears by the respective burials in each. Consequently if we compare the extent of the districts to the number of inhabitants in each, we shall find, that although London be the largest, yet Paris is the most peopled in proportion to its dimension.

After all, instead of attributing any glory either to London or Paris, on account of the greatness of their circumference, or the number of their inhabitants, we ought rather to determine both are too large. A city over-built, may fall, like Rome, by its own weight. It was to prevent any ill conse-

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sequences.

quences from hence, that many ordonnances, and *arrêts* of council, have, from time to time, been made, to fix the boundaries of Paris ; the particular reasons for which are recited in the *arrêt* of 1638, setting forth, “ That by the excessive aggrandizing the city, the air would be rendered more unwholesome, and the cleaning the streets more difficult : that augmenting the number of inhabitants, would augment the price of provisions, labour and manufactures : that it would cover the space of ground by buildings, that ought to be cultivated in raising the necessary provisions for the inhabitants, and thereby hazard a scarcity : that the people in the neighbouring towns and villages would be tempted to come and fix their residence in the capital, and desert the country round about : and lastly, that the difficulty of governing so great a number of people, would occasion a disorder in the *police*, and give an opportunity to rogues and villains to commit robberies and murders, both by night and by day, within and about the city.” For which reasons, particular marks were then fixed at each out-let of the city, beyond which it was forbid that any buildings should be erected. But afterwards, by the increase of trade and people, and the embellishments that were added in the reign of Lewis the XIVth, Paris by degrees became extended beyond these limits : upon which, the above inconveniences being soon perceived, it was thought necessary to enforce the design of the former laws by a new declaration of the present King, dated July 18, 1724, which in its preamble, in the same manner, takes notice of the necessity of making these new provisions to prevent the further growth of the city, which,

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in the end, might prove its ruin ; reciting also the following additional reasons, “ That the inhabitants, augmenting in
 “ proportion to the increase of the buildings, would not only
 “ inhance the price of provisions, but also the price of the
 “ materials for building ; infomuch, that those who had
 “ houses already, would find it difficult to make the necessary
 “ reparations : that the preserving a regular *police*, would
 “ be rendered almost impossible in all the different parts of
 “ so large a body : that the going oftentimes in one day
 “ from one end of the city to the other, which the people
 “ in business are frequently obliged to do, would be rendered
 “ very fatiguing : and consequently, the facility of their
 “ mutual intercourse and communication would be greatly
 “ interrupted ; that besides, it was to be apprehended, that
 “ the ancient buildings in the interior parts, would be quite
 “ neglected, by the people’s being tempted to go into new
 “ ones in the out-skirts.” Therefore as the most sure means
 of preventing all these great evils, it was again thought proper
 to confine this city, large as it was, within the bounds of its
 then circumference ; with liberty nevertheless, to enlarge the
 buildings contained within that compass, under which limits
 it has ever since remained. I was at Paris in the year 1725,
 and several times since, and find it at present just of the same
 dimensions as at the first time I saw it. It is well known, on
 the other hand, to what a degree London has been increased,
 infomuch, that the additional buildings, erected since the time
 above-mentioned, nearly equal one quarter of Paris ; at the
 same time, I am sorry to appeal to daily experience, whether
 those same bad consequences, suggested in the preambles of

the above declarations, which I have purposely transcribed, are not now sensibly felt by the present inhabitants of London and Westminster.

But supposing a city necessarily enlarged by the multitudes of people engaged to carry on its trade and commerce, it must then be a right policy, not only to divide its government amongst several subordinate officers, but also the city itself into several districts, over which each separate magistrate may have a particular superintendency. It was for this reason that Paris, which was formerly divided into sixteen quarters, no sooner began to increase in its growth, than it was found expedient to make some additional divisions, and to alter the former into more equal partitions; accordingly, by the edict of 1702, this city was divided into 20 distinct cantons, without regard to the parochial divisions, which are, as in London, very unequal. These take their names from the most remarkable building, street or church, that is contained in each, as *quartier du Louvre*, *quartier du Temple*, *quartier de St. Jaques*. &c. I must farther observe, that as commissaries are appointed over each quarter, for the better administration of justice, so these divisions are again intended for the greater facility of gathering the revenues, that are raised in the city, towards the expence of all the occasional services.

Should I now attempt to set down a state of these revenues and expences, I should at the same time be obliged to desire the reader, as odd as it might appear, not to trust to it: for when we consider how difficult it is for strangers to procure any accounts of this nature; and what particular caution this government takes to keep them secret; how few of their re-

venues

venues are appropriated; how seldom they are liquidated; and how artful the managers are in setting down fictitious charges to mask and cover the expence of private services; when these deceits, I say, are taken into consideration, it must be hazardous to rely on the truth of any article: I shall venture therefore only to describe from what funds their city revenues are raised, and to what purposes they are generally intended, without pretending to set down the amount of the several items, except only such as immediately relate to those branches of the *police*, which have been the subject of this treatise.

To this purpose, it is necessary to take notice, that there are, in almost every city in the kingdom, town duties imposed on the entry of provisions, and other saleable commodities; part of which are appropriated to the service of the King, and part to support their own exigency. These, it may be supposed, are greater in the capital, than in any of the smaller towns of the provinces; and are here under the direction of the *prevôt des marchands*, and the office of the finances established at Paris for the collection of the city revenues; two treasurers and two controllers being appointed for that purpose by the edict of 1729, who are to account for the monies received by the several following articles, viz.—By the rent of lands and houses in and about Paris, belonging to the *hotel de ville*, or corporation of Paris.—By the duties on the entry of wine, brandy, and other liquors, fowl, game, cattle, eggs, butter, cheese, hay, straw, barley, oats, grain, and corn.—By a tax on the fairs and markets within the city, and upon weights and measures, sign-posts, pent-houses, and jettings over shops, &c.—By
the

the tolls for crossing the river in ferries, or other passage boats.—By a tax for cleaning and lighting the streets, on such houses as were not included in the redemption that was made in 1704; together with the new duty imposed on all the houses in general in 1744.—By fines and confiscations at the *prevôts des marchands* court.—By the duty on the reception of freemen to the several arts and mysteries, and fees of visitation.—By a tax of 2 *sols* in 20, over and above the capitation for the expence of gathering it.—By a tax on all butchers stalls, public-houses and victuallers, being 2 *livres* 8 *sols* a year on each, over and above what they pay for the license of retailing beer, cyder, and victuals.—By a tax on wood and coals brought by water, warfage on the quays, and the tax of 1 *sol* in 20 for alien duties on foreign goods.—By a tax on the gage, tonnage and measure of all boats and vessels bringing in wines and other liquors.—And lastly, by a new tax of 4 *sols* in 20, established in 1748, upon all the duties that were imposed in the city from the commencement of the last war. This duty was suspended in 1751; but the inhabitants dread its being laid on again on any renewal of hostilities.

The amount of these revenues are destined first to answer the demands of the King; next to support the magistracy and jurisdiction of the *hotel de ville*; and lastly towards the maintenance of the *police*, for the security and conveniency of the inhabitants.

With respect to the King's demands; we may imagine the greatest share is destined to his and the public service; especially as the duties stand engaged for payment of great part of the interest on the national debt, particularly on what is due
half

half yearly on the contracts of the *botel de ville*, and for the hereditary, perpetual and life annuities, which have, from time to time, especially within these few years past, been granted for the monies lent, in support of the late war.

As to what is reserved by the *botel de ville*, for the support of the corporation, the payments are destined to the following purposes : namely, To the salary of the *prevôt des marchands*, and the military government of the city.—To their secretaries, and all other officers belonging to their jurisdiction.—To the pay of the officers and troops of the city guards.—To the appointments of the receivers and comptrollers of their accounts, and all clerks belonging thereto.—To travelling charges of the city messengers.—To the expence of keeping in repair the pumps and engines, &c.—To the city surveyor for repairs of public buildings, fountains, quays, bridges, &c.—To the wages of the public executioner, and attendants, &c.—To several annual gifts, pensions and charities.—To the charge of the usual city feasts, and occasional rejoicings, illuminations and fire-works.—And lastly, to the salaries of the singers and dancers of the opera house, and to the losses on the management ; that public diversion, as I have mentioned before, being under the direction of the *prevôt des marchands*.

I am now come to the third branch of their expence for supporting the charge of the *police*, and which is indeed the only one that properly relates to the present enquiry. I shall therefore set down the amount of these articles ; for whatever difficulties there may be in finding out the truth of the items in the others, I have taken care to be exact in this branch ; the sums being computed from the fixed salaries paid to their civil officers ; from the pay to their military watch.

watch-guard ; and from the contracts entered into by the undertakers for paving, cleaning and lighting their streets. The particulars of which, I have mentioned under their respective heads, and shall now recapitulate the totals—as follow, viz.

Expences of the POLICE.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
To salaries of the inspectors of the <i>police</i> , } 10000 <i>livres</i> , - - - - - }	437	10
To ditto of the exempts of the <i>police</i> , } 18250 <i>livres</i> , - - - - - }	798	8
To ditto of the archers, 41975 <i>livres</i> , - -	1836	0
To the pay of the <i>guet</i> of horse, namely, } 160 troopers at 3 <i>livres</i> , and 40 brigadiers at 4 <i>livres</i> 10 <i>sols</i> per day ; in } all 200 men, 240900 <i>livres</i> , - - - }	10539	7
To ditto of the <i>guet</i> on foot, 306 private } at 15 <i>sols</i> , 57 corporals at 18 <i>sols</i> , 37 } serjeants at 20 <i>sols</i> per day each ; in all } 400 men, 117822 <i>livres</i> , - - - }	5154	14
To the public paviour, as per contract, } 295000 <i>livres</i> , - - - - - }	12906	0
To the scavengers, as per contract, 240000 } <i>livres</i> , - - - - - }	10500	0
To the lanthorn lighters, as per contract, } 300000 <i>livres</i> , - - - - - }	13125	0
	<hr/> 55296	<hr/> 19

I might

I might also add to these, the great expence for the maintaining the general hospital, being computed from the consumption of their bread, and from an estimate made of all their other necessary articles, amounting to upwards of 117,000 pounds, as stated before, in page 74. This income destined for the relief of the poor, I have taken notice, is raised by a tax on all kinds of provisions consumed within the city, and consequently paid in common by the strangers as well as native inhabitants; and although duties of this sort may be impolitic, as I have more than once observed before, yet such an appropriation of them, is certainly a charitable one; since, by this means, the provisions consumed by the rich, contribute towards the purchase of provisions for the subsistence of the poor.

Upon the whole, adding the expence for maintaining the poor, to the expence for maintaining the other part of their *police*, they amount, including the charges of the collecting, to about 180,000 pounds sterling: which sum is partly supplied from the income of their own estates, and the remainder raised by a general and equal tax on the inhabitants, as I have mentioned before, and which is levied in lieu of all parochial duties, and in full for poor's rate, watch rate, and the rates payable for paving, cleaning, and lighting the streets, in all the several parishes of the city, suburbs, and the whole circumference of what we may call their bills of mortality. If therefore the separate parochial assessments in the several districts of London and Westminster, for the same purposes, are greater and more unequally levied, we may, by comparing the above example to our own, be led into the consideration what remedy to apply.

This has been my principal view in making these enquiries concerning the several branches of the *police* of France, and of the city of Paris; that by comparing them to the methods attempted in our country, we might discover, which ought to have the preference, agreeably to the principles of our own constitution. The end of this publication will accordingly be answered, if happily from hence, after a due examination of both, such regulations should be formed in our *police*, as might more effectually contribute to the ease and safety of the rich, the relief of the poor, and the peace and welfare of the community in general.

F I N I S.

Erratum. Page 75, last Line but one, for 166, read 1662,



AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Southern Maritime PROVINCES
OF
FRANCE;

REPRESENTING
The DISTRESS to which they were reduced at
the Conclusion of the WAR in 1748:

AND
In what Manner they may again be Distressed upon any
Future Renewal of HOSTILITIES.

With a SUPPLEMENT,
CONTAINING
OBSERVATIONS on the Three Principal Cities of
PROVENCE, namely,
AIX, MARSEILLES, and TOULON.

To which are added,
SOME REMARKS
ON
The MARINE of FRANCE.

L O N D O N:
Printed for THOMAS HARRISON in Warwick-Lane.
MDCCXLIV.

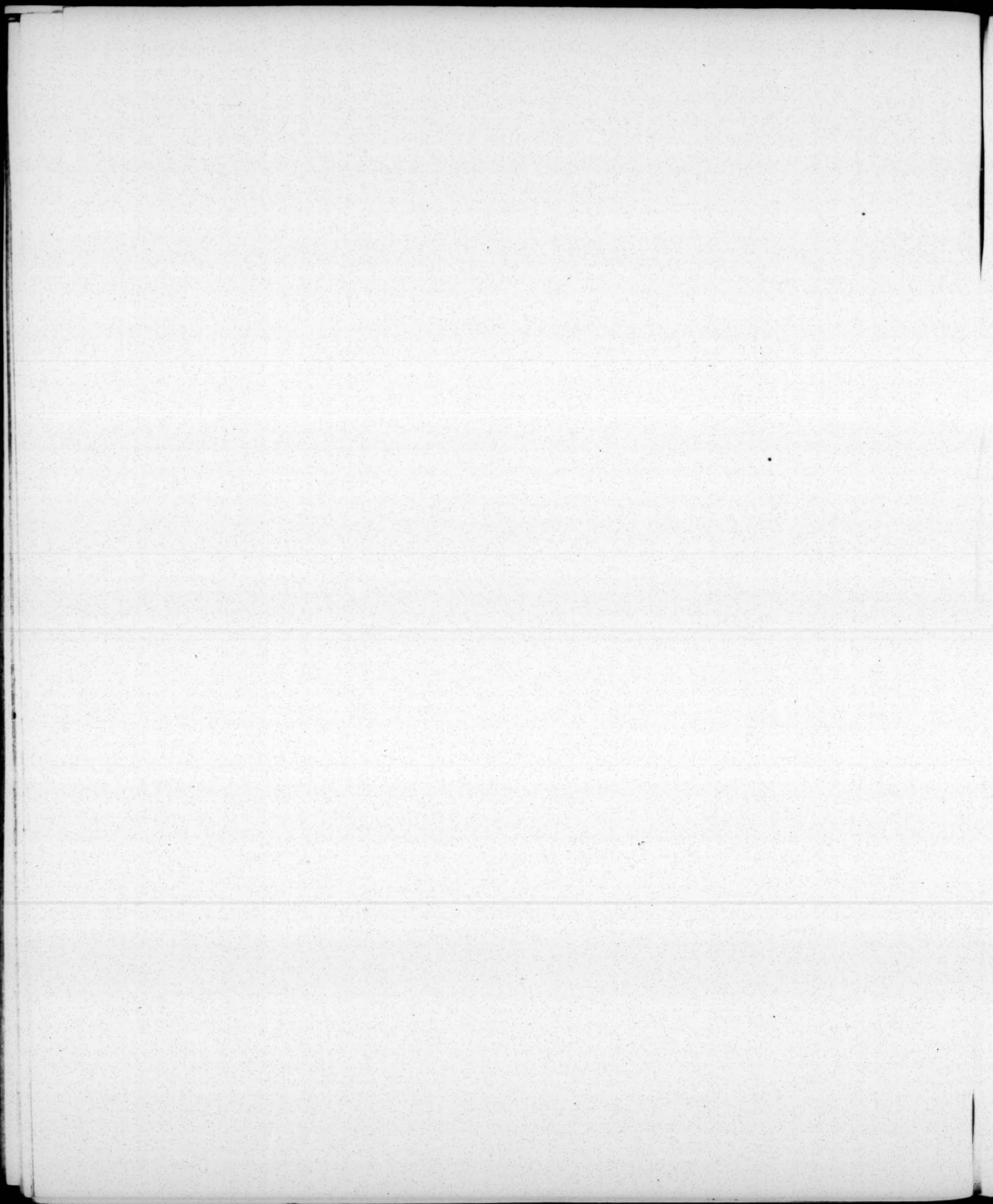
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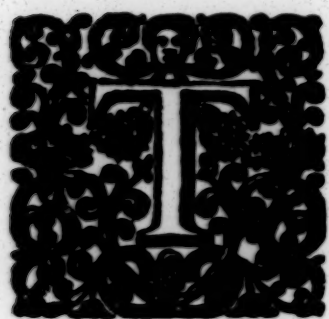
THE following REPRESENTATIONS were drawn up for the perusal of His Majesty's Ministers of State, to whom they were offered soon after the declaration of the war in 1756. They are now published in hopes that the OBSERVATIONS they contain may be instrumental to the service of this Country on some future occasion.

The CONTENTS.

1. *An account of the Southern Maritime Provinces of France ; representing the distress they were reduced to at the conclusion of the war in 1748, and in what manner they may again be distressed upon any future renewal of hostilities.* -- page 1.
2. *The authentick proofs, by way of Appendix, collected from the minutes of the assembly of the States, &c.* — P. 45.
3. *A Supplement to the foregoing account, containing observations on the three principal cities of Provence, namely, Aix, Marseilles, and Toulon ; with two Maps or Plans, the one of the fortifications of Toulon, the other of its arsenals and dock-yards.* -- -- -- -- P. 75.
4. *Remarks on the Marine of France, containing an account of the methods of its administration, at what expence it is maintained, and in what parts, and by what trades, it is chiefly supported.* -- -- -- -- p. 103.



A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
Southern Maritime Provinces
O F
F R A N C E, &c.



To know the weak side of our enemy, or on what side the power of our enemy may be weakened, are equally very considerable advantages; I hope therefore it will be no unacceptable service to my country, if I attempt to point out on what side France has been, and may again be weakened, whilst engaged in a war against England. I had an opportunity of discovering this, by being in the Southern parts of that kingdom, both before the war that was begun in 1744, and immediately after its conclusion in 1748; and think it now my duty to offer some observations on the state and condition of those provinces with respect to their trade and revenues, the great foundations of their

strength and power : each of which I will endeavour to describe, as they appeared to be at the three following periods, namely, from 1740 to 1744, before the commencement of that war with England — Next, from 1744 to 1748, during its continuance ; — And lastly, in 1748, upon the restoration of the peace at Aix la Chapelle. Thus by comparing their condition at the former period, to the distresses they were reduced to at the latter ; discovering the difference, and examining the cause of that difference, we shall be apprized in what manner they may again be distressed, upon any future renewal of hostilities.

The first point to be considered, in any kingdom, or any province of a kingdom, is the plenty or scarcity of the necessary provisions of life ; for these govern the price of all other productions, on which the welfare of trade depends ; from whence the riches of all nations are introduced, their revenues supported, and their power established. Now with regard to these points, we may remark, that although *Provence* and *Languedoc*, which are the two principle Southern provinces of France, do not greatly abound in corn, yet in times of peace they are easily supplied with it by importation from Sicily, the Levant, and the coasts of Barbary, as well as from England, and the other more Northern countries.

From hence it is apparent, how greatly they may suffer in time of war, by their enemies cutting off that communication, and preventing such foreign supplies.

But however deficient these provinces may be in producing the first necessary provisions of life, they naturally abound in many productions of luxury, the sale and exportation of which make up the most considerable branch of their
annual

annual wealth. They have wine sufficient, not only for their own, but for the consumption of great part of Italy, besides quantities exported to their Western colonies. Their oranges, figs, almonds, prunes, capres, and oil, especially the oil of *Provence*, for which the district near *Aix* is peculiarly famous, are sold throughout the interior parts of France, Swisserland, Germany, and of late carried even to Sweden, Denmark, and Muscovy. For we must observe, that as trade brings in riches, and riches introduce luxury; so these *Southern* provinces, abounding in so many products of luxury, must encrease in their trade and riches, in proportion to the encrease of trade and riches in the *Northern* countries. We may add the profits they make from their raw silks, by means of their mulberry trees, and from the several manufactures of silk, soap, essences, earthen ware; and above all, from the different species of woollen cloths made at St. Pons, and Carcassonne in Languedoc, to be exported to the Levant by the Turkey company established at Marseilles: It is from the great profits they return by these trades, that they chiefly make up their annual wealth, and support their public revenues.

This again points out the hazard and loss these provinces may be liable to in time of war, by a proper destination of a superior power at sea to intercept that trade, on which their wealth and revenues do so much depend.

From these considerations let us now examine the various changes of their state and condition during the continuance of the war abovementioned; in which we shall discover the additional taxes and impositions that were levied, and the great encrease of debts that was incurred, and to what real distress and misery the inhabitants were reduced, as well from a want

of a foreign supply of provisions, as from the loss of those trades by which their extraordinary revenues as above were to be supported.

But previous to my entering into this detail, it may not be improper to explain by what authority, and in what manner, these provincial revenues are raised—To which purpose it will be necessary to premise, that Provence and Languedoc, being *Pays d'état*, are distinguished by many privileges from those other provinces that are stiled *Pays d'élection*. For, first, they have the privilege of being exempted from the *taille personnelle*, or tax on their personal estates, as they pay only the *taille réelle*, or land tax. Secondly, They are allowed to raise this tax under the denomination of a *don gratuit*, or free gift to the King, including with it all the sums wanted to serve their own provincial expences. Thirdly, They are permitted to pay a gross sum by way of composition for the free gift, without being accountable for the manner of raising it; And, fourthly, They enjoy the extraordinary liberty of collecting their several provincial duties by officers of their own appointment. Besides these, *Provence* in particular claims the further privilege of being exempted from providing the *etapes*, or necessary provisions and furniture for the King's troops marching through, or being quartered in their province*.

* The word *etape*, in the military sense, signifies the magazines which most of the provinces in France are obliged to erect, within certain distances, for furnishing the King's troops with provisions in their routs and marches; but as we have no such establishment, nor any English word for it, I must beg leave, as often as I shall be obliged to refer to it hereafter, to mention it by this French appellation.

Be pleased to observe, that I am here to take notice of no other revenues but those that are merely provincial, that is, such as are paid into the treasury of the province, and issued from thence, first to satisfy the *don gratuit* to the King, and afterwards their own particular expences; namely, the salaries to their governors, the charge of their militia, and of the *marechausée*, the interest of their debts, and the repairs of their highways, &c. But as to the King's *domaine*, the *ayds*, *gabelles*, and all other farmed duties, which are imposed on the sale, transport, or consumption of the vendible commodities; these being common to all, are not to be set down as burthens peculiar to any one province, though burthens indeed they are upon the people in general, and levied with equal severity in every part of the kingdom.

From hence it appears, that the revenues in every province of France are applicable to answer, first the national expence, and next the demands that are made to support the particular exigency of that province: accordingly, the impositions on each are augmented in proportion to the greatness and variety of their several demands. In order therefore to form a calculation of the whole revenues of France, we must take into our account, not only what comes into the King's coffers, but the overplus sums that are raised to support the private exigency of each province; and consequently to give an account of the national debt of France, we must not only take in the estimate of what is owing by the King, but also what debts are owing by each province, and by every town and community within that province. These particulars, however minute, are objects which must be taken into our view;

view ; and then, by adding the national and provincial expences, and debts together, we shall discover the accumulated burthens imposed upon every inhabitant, and upon the kingdom in general.

These provincial impositions, of which I now confine myself to treat, are levied by the authority of the assembly of the States, consisting of the three orders, namely, the ecclesiasticks, the nobles, and the *tiers etat*, or commonalty. The assembly of the states both of Provence and Languedoc meet annually ; that of Provence in November at *Lambersc* ; and that of Languedoc in October at *Montpelier*. Each of these is held by the Kings commission to their respective governor, or, in his absence, to the intendant. The meeting is opened by reading the *lettres de cachet* and *patentes* of the King, signifying the reasons and necessity of his demanding the continuance of the usual *don gratuit*, which is immediately and unanimously voted, in the politest terms of duty, zeal and loyalty. After which, the *procureurs de pays*, who are the general provincial agents, deliver in the accounts they have received from the consuls of each community, in which are stated the accounts of the last year, and what sums are wanted for the next ; including the charges for repairing the highways, the interest of their debts, the salaries of their officers, and other necessary and incidental expences ; all which being stated and added to the sum demanded for the *don gratuit*, they vote the whole to be necessary, and then compute how much must be imposed upon each community to amount to that sum, of which they afterwards make a repartition, to answer all the several purposes ;

poses; and which impost, raised by this authority, is frequently varied, like the land-tax in England, according to the different exigencies of each year.

The general assembly, after having thus voted the Sum total to be raised, proportion the share each community is to pay towards it; and the communities collect what is so imposed by a rate on their contributory lands. In entering therefore into a particular description of the manner in which these rates are collected, I must take notice, that Provence, of which Aix is the capital; or, to speak constitutionally, that the *generalité* of Aix is divided into 22 *vigueries*, or magistracies, like the divisions of hundreds in the counties of England; each *viguerie* is again subdivided into several *feus*, a term derived from *feodum*, being the antient tenure of their lands, and signifying the value and not the extent of their different parcels. So also the province of Languedoc is first of all, on account of its extent, divided into two *generalités*, distinguished by the names of the Upper and Lower Languedoc: the Upper is divided into eleven diocesses; the Lower into twelve: and these again into communities; and the communities into lesser parcels of land, rated according to their annual value.

These contributory lands in Provence, as I mentioned before, are called *feus*, the number of which in the whole amounts to 3032, and the extent and share of each, at a certain estimated rate, is fixed and registered in a book, which is called the *affouagement* of the province: but although this method of taxation, at so much *per feu*, is fixed and determinate, yet the value of a *feu* is very uncertain, from the
uncertainty

uncertainty there is of the yearly income of the parcel of land that comes under that denomination ; which being a fictitious measure, differs in every community, like the real weights and measures throughout all France ; for this registry having been made long ago by commissaries of their own appointing, methods were then taken, not unknown to some counties in England, of estimating their lands at an under rate, and the tax was fixed only upon the value so registered. However, I was informed by those who had opportunities of knowing the annual income of certain districts, that by dividing the sum total of that annual income by the number of *feus* it was charged with, each *feu* might be estimated to be equal to four thousand five hundred livres *per annum*, or near 200 l. a year : a tax therefore of five hundred and fifty livres, or 24 l. sterling on such an annual income, which was the usual tax before 1744, would be something more than two shillings in the pound land-tax in England, rated to the full. But having observed above, that these estates are registered under their value, we may suppose such a tax not to exceed one shilling in the pound out of their real value.

But in Languedoc, where the lands are not rated by any antient registered value, the proportion that each parcel is to pay is annually settled by commissaries appointed *ex parte* on the behalf of the King, and on behalf of the communities, who hold their *assietes*, or sittings, for one month after the general assembly is broke up, to make the *recherche*, or after-enquiry into the advanced rents and profits of the lands in each district, and to raise their tax accordingly. The tax thus proportioned, is settled by what is called the *compoix*, or *cadastre*,

cadastre, which is the nominal measure of the value of each parcel, the sum totals of which being cast up in every community, by *livres*, *sols* and *deniers*, is from thence called their *alivrement*, which the consuls of each community account for to the magistrates of the diocess; and these account for what is raised in their respective diocesses, to the treasurer general of the province, by whom the value of each contributory land, and the rate it pays, is each year registered in a book called the *terrier* of the province. This method of annually raising the taxes on their lands, to the annual encrease of their profits, is practised even with rigour in all the other *generalités* of France, that go under the denomination of the *pays d'élections*. Strange policy! tending to discourage all industry; to prevent all improvements; and even to lessen the revenues which it pretends to encrease. Lastly, from hence we shall find, that as the *compoix*, or valuation of their estates, are so often varied, few can tell what proportion each annually pays to the total sum imposed; nor do the states ever publish their debates or resolutions on the impositions they think proper to raise; so that a stranger must depend on hearsays, or manuscript accounts, formed on conjectures so vague and so different from one another, that we cannot venture to depend on any; and what I shall presume to offer, will be such only as appear to be the least exaggerated.

Whilst with regard to Provence, we go upon more sure ground, inasmuch as the assembly of the states publish every year what is entitled the *cayer* of their deliberations, being the minutes of their debates and resolutions, with a more ample and circumstantial detail than what are printed of our

parliamentary proceedings in the votes of the house of commons. These *cayers* I have now before me for the several periods of years I propose to examine; which I can safely refer to as my vouchers, being assured that every account of such a distant country will be the more satisfactory, when thus authenticated by its own original records.

And now without any farther explanations, fearing I have been too tedious in what I have already attempted, I shall proceed to examine what has been the actual amount of these revenues; what differences have happened as to their encrease or decrease; and what has been the cause of that difference during the periods of time proposed in the beginning of this discourse; and accordingly shall begin with a relation of what were raised in the years from 1740 to 1744.

At the assembly of the states of Provence, held at Lambesc in November 1740, after the usual time taken up in reading the orders for hearing masses; taking the oaths; and receiving the excuses from those who were absent, &c. Mr. La Tour, first president and intendant, in the absence of the duke de Villars, governor of the province, remitted the King's letters *de cachet* and patent, dated at Fontainebleau the 12th and 16th of October preceding, signifying his Majesty's orders for convoking the assembly, that it might provide for the necessary affairs of the province, and particularly for the imposition of the sum of seven hundred thousand livres, as the *don gratuit*, &c. which sum, amounting to 30,625 l. sterling, was thereupon unanimously granted; and the assembly having at their subsequent Meetings examined the accounts of
all

all the other necessary expences relating to their province, voted, That for the defraying the whole, the sum of 550 livres should be imposed on each *feu*, according to the repartition made thereof, the particulars of which it is unnecessary here to set down. Let it suffice to observe, that no farther provisions or taxes were at that Time required, than what might satisfy the usual and ordinary expences of the province; which imposition of 550 livres *per feu*, levied on the 3032 *feus*, the total number in the province, amounted to one million six hundred sixty seven thousand four hundred livres, or 72,948 l. sterling.

At the assembly of the states of Languedoc, held the same year at Montpellier in the month of October, I find the sum of four millions six hundred thousand livres, equal to 201,250 l. sterling, set down as voted to answer the King's *don gratuit*, and all the other expences of their province. Should it be asked how it comes to pass that this province, which is little more than half as big as the other above mentioned, should yet raise a revenue almost three times as high? It may be answered, that the difference doth not arise from their greater proportion of provincial expences, but from its granting a larger sum by way of *don gratuit* to the King. For as Provence compounds for that demand by the annual sum of seven hundred thousand livres, or 30,625 l. sterling, Languedoc remits no less than three millions of livres, or 131,250 l. sterling, as it includes under this article, some other compositions for duties to which it was antiently liable. And we are to observe, that both the provinces in raising their *don gratuit*, are permitted to impose rather more under that

denomination than what is demanded by the King; and after accounting to his Majesty for the nett sum due by the composition, the overplus is reserved, as well to pay the charges of collecting, as to make a fund for the discharge of other incidental expences. In this manner the usual provincial revenues, or county rates, were levied in these provinces; which, in 1740 and 1741, respectively each year, amounted to about the sums here put down, namely,

<i>In Provence,</i>	<i>Livres.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>
For the provincial expences, ———— } 967,400		42,323	15
For the King's <i>don</i> } 700,000		30,625	00
<i>gratuit,</i> ———— }			
	<hr/> 1,667,400 <hr/>	<hr/> 72,948 <hr/>	<hr/> 15 <hr/>

<i>In Languedoc,</i>	<i>Livres.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>
For the provincial expences, ———— } 1,600,000		70,000	00
For the King's <i>don</i> } 3,000,000		131,250	00
<i>gratuit,</i> ———— }			
	<hr/> 4,600,000 <hr/>	<hr/> 201,250 <hr/>	<hr/> 00 <hr/>

But in 1742, France, being engaged jointly with Spain in a war against the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia, concerning the right to some territories in Italy, his most christian Majesty was obliged to demand the *capitation* and *dixieme*; taxes which ought only to be levied in time of war; and

and being raised solely by virtue of the King's edict, and the precept of the intendant, are never mentioned in the assembly of the states. But yet both the provinces agree to satisfy these taxes to the King by a composition, as they do the *don gratuit*: Provence agreeing to pay 30,000 l. and Languedoc about 40,000 l. sterling for each, being permitted to raise those sums by impositions of their own, together with an overplus to defray the expence of collecting. Add to these, the several other military impositions, which, as the war began to be carried on with vigour, were levied throughout the kingdom, to answer the additional expences; particularly by the march both of the French and Spanish troops through these provinces in their way to Italy. Of these expences however they were able then to pay their share, by the help of the supplies which accrued from the beneficial exportation of their luxurious products to the northern powers, and of their manufactures to the Levant, and other parts of Turkey, as also to Martinique, St. Domingue, and the Western islands; their merchants and brokers gaining their millions of livres by a commerce and navigation, hitherto free and uninterrupted by the English navy. But unhappily for those that were engaged in this commerce, and those who had any dependance on it, war was proclaimed against England, by the instigation of another power, on the 14th of March 1744.

Let us now examine what alterations these provinces suffered, from that period, till the preliminaries of the peace were signed at Aix la Chapelle in April 1748.

This is the most interesting period for us to examine, wherein we shall find what distress these Southern provinces were

were reduced to, by being engaged in a war with England: having as much to lose at sea as at land, they felt the sad effects in both parts: our taking their ships and cargoes occasioned their first loss: our cruising after others obstructed future gain. Hence a decay of trade; a stop to manufactures; and a want of money and credit. Want of money and credit decreased their revenues, and this of course reduced their strength: so that whilst there was on the one hand a necessity of augmenting their expences, there appeared on the other a diminution of the sources from whence they were to be supplied. Such were the consequences to which these provinces were reduced soon after the commencement of the war; and as their annual expences could not be supplied by their annual revenues, rights were infringed, debts contracted, and disputes created among themselves, which lasted even longer than the war with their common enemies.

Thus it appears, that in 1744, the first year after the war was proclaimed against England, the French King being then with his army in Germany, dated his letters from the head quarters of his camp, to the assembly of the states of Provence, met as usual the beginning of November; wherein his Majesty sets forth, “ that the tenderness he had
 “ for his subjects had opposed itself to his engaging in a war,
 “ which might endanger their repose, their fortunes and their
 “ lives; but being obliged at length to enter into it, he was
 “ willing at least to share the weight of it with them. He had
 “ been seen to march at the head of his troops, to brave the same
 “ dangers, and undergo those fatigues, to which he had near
 “ fallen a victim.” — This alludes to the King's illness at Metz,
 from

from which his Majesty was just at that time recovered.— The letter then proceeds in the usual form, in the first place to demand the *don gratuit*, &c. which the assembly granted, with professions of their consulting only their zeal for his Majesty's service, without attending to the burthens with which their country was overcharged. But at their meetings afterwards, when the intendant read to them his Majesty's farther instructions, not only for providing the accustomed payments for the repairs of their fortifications, highways, and bridges, and the expences of their militia; but that it was also expected, "they should make some extraordinary provisions for
 " the expences that had accrued in their province on account
 " of wood, and straw, and firing, for the *encampment* of the
 " *troops* during their march into Italy." The assembly at once came to a resolution, that the amount of that expence was not to be provided by the province, but only to be liquidated and stated, in order to make a demand on his Majesty to reimburse all that the several communities had or should furnish on account of the *army*, agreeably to the antient practice of other years, as therein recited: for it may be remembred, I have already mentioned the privilege this province claims of being exempted from providing the *etapes* for the King's troops marching through or quartered within any of it's communities. This privilege, although confirmed by an edict in the month of March 1661, had indeed been infringed in the year 1719; but by an arret of council, dated the 28th of March in the same year, they were allowed to redeem it again on the payment of one hundred and fifty thousand livres, or 6561 l. a year in time of peace; and two hundred thousand
 livres,

livres, or, 8750 l. a year in time of war. Therefore, to answer this composition, and some other extraordinary expences, on account of the militia, and the repairs of highways, &c. they were obliged to raise their provincial impositions from 550 to 725 livres *per feu*, which produced two millions one hundred ninety eight thousand two hundred livres, or 96,170 l. sterling, for the year, which in the preceding years I have shewn were satisfied by the sum of 72,948 l. the difference therefore was an additional county rate on this province; whilst at the same time the communities were obliged, contrary to the privilege of an exemption which they claimed, to maintain the King's troops by extraordinary sums, which they could no other ways raise, than by borrowing on their own security; which extraordinary expences not being provided for by any annual revenue, remained, as we shall see hereafter, to be encreased from year to year, till they became a debt too great for either the communities or the province to pay.

It is not to be supposed that the estates in Languedoc were charged in proportion with an equal encrease of provincial expences, as they were not so near the seat of war; nor was there the like number of troops marching through their territories; and such as did, being chiefly Spanish, paid dearly for all their forage and provisions; besides they had no right infringed thereby, having no privilege to be exempt from the *etape*, though, by several edicts passed in their favour, they are only to furnish a certain limited quantity of provisions. But then, they were equally distressed by the interruption of
trade,

trade, particularly of the Levant trade, on which the subsistence of so many of their people in the cloth manufactures mostly depended. Add to this, the stop that was put to the exportation of their wines, oils, and other products, at the port of Cette.

It is obvious from hence, how greatly a maritime power must be affected, by being engaged in a war with a superior maritime power. Loss of trade, and diminution of revenues, I have already mentioned as the general consequences; to which we must now add the more particular distress these *Southern* provinces suffered, from their peculiar situation and circumstances. Concerning this, it will be most material for us to enquire into the state of Provence, as it contains the two chief maritime ports in those parts; that of Marseilles, noted for its commerce; and the other of Toulon, renowned for its naval strength; and as this province itself was most affected and annoyed by the English fleet stationed on its coasts. Which reduced the inhabitants in a few years to such an extremity of distress, not only from the loss of trade, but from the want of corn, and the dread of a famine, as to oblige them to sue to the King for that redress, which could no otherwise be procured than by his speedily agreeing to the conclusion of a peace. All which we shall presently see manifested by their own memorials and representations, from whose original vouchers the following narrative is chiefly compiled.

I have already taken notice of the dependency of these people upon a foreign supply for most of the necessaries of life. This supply we may imagine, after the year 1744, when the war was become universal, was greatly interrupted by land,

and almost totally prevented by sea; for the English fleet had now spread itself, and, as their people expressed it, covered the Mediterranean: the allied army on that side, encouraged by our assistance, exerted their force, and instead of being on the defensive, to secure their own dominions in Italy, proceeded into this province, and threatened to besiege Toulon. This, it is well known, occasioned an extraordinary march of great numbers of French troops from other parts, who passing through the country, made a vast consumption of every kind of provisions. Vast demands must cause a scarcity; scarcity must encrease the price of living; and dearness of living will always be attended with complaints from the inhabitants. When individuals suffer, the public becomes interested to relieve them; or the whole community will grow desperate. Applications therefore being made to the government, the government was obliged to interpose. And since these difficulties had no small influence on the public measures, I shall take the liberty of being more explicit in my account of the various causes from whence they proceeded.

The first grievance, and which is generally felt the first, arose from the scarcity and dearness of provisions. To prevent this as far as possible, it is customary in almost all the great cities, and communities in France, to let out the sale of meat and flour to undertakers, who, on paying a certain annual sum, are to have the exclusive privilege of selling these provisions, for a term of years, on condition that they provide a sufficient quantity, and deliver them at a certain price, which is fixed as low as it can be supposed to be afforded, according to the apparent plenty. Thus for example, the community

munity of Marseilles in 1745, leased out their butchery to undertakers for the term of six years, upon condition that they should provide and sell a sufficient quantity of meat at the rate of 3 sols a pound for beef and 4 sols a pound for mutton. These conditions were performed with some profits to the *fermiers* for the first year or two of their lease: but the unexpected continuance of the war, began by degrees to deprive them of their former gains, and afterwards to occasion a considerable loss: for the Spanish troops marching through Languedoc, and the French through Dauphiny, in their way to this province, previously consumed the provisions, which were usually bought up in those places to supply this part; in consequence of which, the price of sheep and cattle rose so much, that the meat, which might sometime before be bought at three sols *per* pound, now stood them in seven or eight sols *per* pound: yet they were obliged to abide by their original contract; insomuch that upon casting up their accounts at the latter end of the year 1744, some months after the commencement of the war with England, they proved, by a memorial offered to the consuls of the city, that their loss amounted to no less than two hundred twenty seven thousand livres, or 9,931 l. sterliug, besides the sinking of all their former gains; and therefore humbly prayed to be indemnified for the past, and to have their contract vacated for the future. Receiving no satisfactory answer from this quarter, they thought they had some equitable pretensions of applying to the ministry above, upon the suggestion that their loss was chiefly occasioned by the extraordinary quantity of provisions demanded for his Majesty's troops: their petition here was

in part granted by vacating their term, and allowing them a reimbursement of two hundred thousand livres, or 8,750 l. sterling, which the community of Marseilles was ordered to raise and pay; it being the method in France, to ease one subject by laying a load on another; and the equity of this ordinance was justified, on behalf of the King, by alledging, that the troops being sent to protect their community, it was but reasonable they should repair the private losses sustained by particulars; especially since the loss of these contractors, was occasioned by selling provisions at an under rate, of which they who were the buyers had hitherto received the benefit.

However, to make some amends, a new lease was constituted and granted to the magistracy of Marseilles, who, in the name of their consuls, had the sole privilege of selling the meat at one sol *per* pound advance, over the real price it should cost them. This grant produced to the town, *communibus annis*, about three hundred and twenty thousand livres, or 13,990 l. sterling; but the individual inhabitants at the same time suffered in their private expences, by being obliged to pay one sol *per* pound for their meat, over and above the market price in other places of their neighbourhood.

The *fermiers* at Marseilles having succeeded so well, many who were under the like contract with other communities, and had suffered in the same manner, made their applications also to have their contracts vacated, or some indemnification for their loss; but as this must have been attended with dearth of provisions in the very places through which the French and Spanish troops were to march to and from Italy, their
petitions

petitions were rejected. The undertakers, when they first contracted were rich and able, and it was thought better policy, that they should suffer a loss, than that the marching regiments, as well as the inhabitants, should feel the want: this lasted but a little while, for when the undertakers broke, their contracts were vacated of course.

I have been particular in mentioning these circumstances, that we might hence form a notion of their distress with regard to the dearness of provisions of every kind; but their distress arising from the want of corn, as it was most universal, and had like to have proved the most fatal, demands a yet more ample description. On this article we know depends the supply of bread, justly esteemed the first and most necessary article of life; and yet Provence produces in a whole year no more corn than what will suffice to support the inhabitants for three months. The better therefore to facilitate a foreign supply, the African company, established at Marseilles, has a grant of the exclusive privilege of importing corn from the coast of Barbary, upon condition of never having less than 20,000 charges, which is about 12,000 quarters English measure, of wheat at a time, in their public magazine. To fulfil this obligation, the company has several settlements on the opposite coast of Barbary, where they buy corn from time to time, and transport it as it is wanted to their general magazine; from whence it is delivered to all the adjacent parts, not without considerable gain to themselves.

Being therefore thus dependent on a foreign supply, it may easily be imagined how greatly they were distressed by a war with a superior power at sea, capable of intercepting that supply

ply. And to demonstrate at once how sensible they were of their dependence on us for this provision, I was told that on the very day war was proclaimed at Marseilles against England, the price of corn rose six livres in the charge, which is near equal to 10 s. a quarter in England. The price therefore of corn being at that time 20 livres a charge, rose at once to 26, and soon after to 30, and so on, till it advanced to 46 livres a charge, which is about 4 l. a quarter, or 20 l. sterling a load. Nor need we be surprised at this dearth, since none could be brought from Sicily or Naples but by stealth in Tartanes or coasting Feluccas; nor was the African company able to replenish their magazines, according to the terms on which their privilege was granted, since our fleet was so stationed, as to cut off the direct communication to their settlements on the opposite coasts of Barbary.

This circumstance deserves some attention, and I shall take occasion hereafter to offer some proposals upon it.

It being so difficult to procure corn from abroad, those who had it at home were anxious in hoarding it up; so that little being brought to market, a famine was dreaded even before there was any real hazard of it. This obliged the consuls of the several communities to apply to the provincial agents; and the provincial agents, to the intendant, to take timely measures for preventing so great an evil. Whereupon it was determined, that public magazines of corn should be erected in different parts, to be furnished at the expence of the provincial chest, in order to be sold out again and distributed among the inhabitants. But if there was a difficulty in procuring corn, there was yet a greater in finding money to pay for it.

Applications

Applications therefore were made to the ministry for some indulgence to such as should be willing to lend their money to the provincial communities for the purchase of so necessary a provision. Accordingly letters patent were issued, allowing an exemption from the *dixieme* upon all interest of money, that should be lent to any community for the purchase of corn. Observe that the *dixieme* is a tax of about two *per cent.* upon the interest of every personal estate. Besides this, the King was further pleased, by his edict, to grant the assembly of the states a liberty of retaining annually a certain sum out of his *don gratuit*, to be employed, one half in paying the interest of any sums they should borrow, and the other half to remain as a sinking fund towards the discharge of the principal. Upon this security, and the *douceur* of high interest, with an exemption from the *dixieme*, the communities were enabled to borrow several sums, and thereby replenished their magazines with corn, partly from their own produce, and partly by the assistance of our good allies the Dutch, from Naples and Sicily; a premium being given on every measure of wheat, or other grain, imported by any neutral vessel.

But these demands for corn being the greatest, when it was most difficult to be procured; it naturally followed, that it was purchased at a high and extravagant rate; and yet the magistrates were instructed to deliver it out again at such a moderate price, as might serve to keep up the spirits of the people, by making them believe they had plenty in store. For the government of these provinces was at this time wholly supported by artifice. No corn was to be furnished out of their magazines, but by an order of their magistrates;

no such orders could be obtained without a certificate of the want of it ; and when they were obtained, their validity or formality were sure to be questioned by the officers at the magazines ; so that the people were generally contented to take about half the quantity they came for. In the mean time, borrowing upon interest was adding a burthen upon the communities ; to have that interest exempted from the *dixieme* was a diminution to the King's revenue ; and to buy dear and sell cheap was a dead loss upon the province. All this while the immense consumption that was made by the army and its numerous suite, both drained their magazines and emptied their treasure ; for instead of employing the money the corn was sold for in a circle towards repurchasing more, it was from time to time drilled away to satisfy other demands that were occasioned by the war. Add to this the severer methods taken by our fleet to prevent the Dutch from supplying them any more ; and the two bad harvests that happened in the years 1746 and 1747.

This was the more severe after the damages they had received by the forage demanded both by the French and Spanish troops. They suffered greatly by their own in the year 1745, but yet infinitely more from the contributions levied by the enemy's troops in 1746. It is well remembered, that in the month of November in that same year, the allied army under Count Brown, having passed the Var, was advanced upon the frontiers of Provence, and there continued until the month of February next ensuing ; during which time we may conceive what losses were created by the exactions of money ; pillaging of houses ; cutting down olive trees and vineyards ; and all the

the other ravages usually committed by a plundering army. And whilst the allied army thus invaded them on one side, and their own troops were marching to oppose it on the other, the English fleet was cruising all along the coasts to hinder any supplies by sea; so that what with contributions levied by the troops of the enemy, and the subsistence demanded by their own, the native inhabitants seemed to be left to starve between both.

This want of a foreign supply obliged the King to erect a military magazine of corn near Arles, for the sole use of the army, which was supplied from the inland parts of the kingdom, at a vast expence of carriage. But the magistrates, finding they could not much longer conceal the scarcity of theirs, made pressing applications to have a supply out of the magazine designed for the troops. They represented to the minister of war, that, without this assistance, the people would starve. The King's commissaries, on the other hand, represented, that if such assistance was granted to the people, the troops would starve. This was a terrible dilemma for a King to be driven to; but he cleared himself of it, by ordering his ministers, just at that crisis of time, to sign the preliminaries of peace, which were accordingly signed at Aix la Chapelle on the 30th of April 1748.

We are now lastly to consider in what condition these provinces were left, upon the restoration of peace, and what measures were taken in consequence of it.

From what has been related, it may be imagined, that the news of peace was extremely welcome in these parts. I was assured by several people of different ranks of life, that, had it

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been postponed a month longer, there would have been a danger of an insurrection in all their maritime provinces. Let us now see what measures were taken as well to repair their losses, as to redress their grievances.

If we would now compare the state of these provinces immediately after the war, to what they were immediately before, we may first judge of the difference by the different prices of the necessary provisions: the particulars of which I have put in opposite columns, that they may be seen together in one view.

<i>Price of provisions before the war.</i>		<i>Price of provisions after the war.</i>	
	<i>liv. sols.</i>		<i>liv. sols.</i>
Wheat <i>per</i> * charge -	22 00	Wheat ditto - -	42 00
Rye <i>per</i> charge - -	13 00	Rye ditto - - -	25 00
Oats <i>per</i> load - -	14 00	Oats ditto - - -	22 00
Hay <i>per</i> quintal - -	1 16	Hay ditto - - -	3 15
Bread <i>per</i> pound - -	00 2	Bread ditto - - -	00 5
Mutton <i>per</i> pound -	00 4	Mutton ditto - - -	00 9
Beef <i>per</i> pound - -	00 3	Beef ditto - - - -	00 8

However, the distress on this account, though it was the most extream, was the soonest relieved; and it is to be hoped not without some considerable advantage on our side, by the supply of our corn exported at different times from several parts of England. Here permit me to remark, that finishing the war by thus distressing the enemy, procured a double ad-

* A Charge Marseilles measure is near equal to four bushels and a half of English measure at Bear-key, so that two Charges are equal to one quarter and one bushel.

vantage

vantage to our own country; first, as we caused the distress; and next, as we relieved it; being happily enabled to supply the want upon the conclusion of the peace, which we ourselves had occasioned during the war.

As I was frequently at Marseilles soon after the time that the English Ships, laden with English corn, were permitted, in pursuance of the preliminary articles of the peace, to enter that port, I had an opportunity of observing the advantages we then made, and may make again, by the exportation of our corn at so critical a juncture. For I found the high price of wheat was kept up many months after the war was over, occasioned by the extraordinary demands equally subsisting even on account of the peace. For now there was a recall of the troops from Italy to march home and be disbanded. Regiments accordingly were passing successively through Provence, during all the summer, and great part of the succeeding winter. I sometimes saw three battalions entering at one gate at Aix, whilst the like number was going out at another. The public bureau also being fixed here for the military establishment, made up as it were another army of civil officers, consisting of contractors, victuallers, clerks, commissaries, agents, &c. with numbers of horses, mules, and attendants, to conduct the equipages. All these, it may be imagined, occasioned such a consumption of provisions, as naturally augmented the price.

But the price of corn was yet again artificially raised by combinations amongst the dealers. A circumstance, which in the sale of so necessary a provision of life, deserves the severest animadversion. For whether the merchants abroad take the

adventure upon themselves, and the cornfactors in England buy only by commission ; or whether our cornfactors are chiefly concerned in the cargoes, and the merchants at the foreign port sell by commission, the trade being carried on by both these methods, yet the farmer in England, and the consumer abroad, are either way made the dupes of these intermediate dealers ; a people ever dextrous in turning a public calamity to their own private advantage. And so it was that the merchants at Marseilles, upon the first foreign supply of corn, were as slow in delivering, as others were hasty in demanding it. This first supply indeed came in by little at a time in small vessels from Naples, Sicily, Barbary, and several parts of the Archipelago ; to which we may add the cargoes of some Dutch ships, who being in the Mediterranean when the news of peace arrived, immediately made a trip to the Levant, and brought back a most timely and profitable freight. But it may seem amazing, that during the first three months after the war, not above two English ships appeared in this harbour, who coming in about the latter end of July, disposed of their lading at a most immense profit. This delay in not being dispatched sooner, might possibly be owing to the common artifice of the English factors, who combining together, were as slow in buying, in order to keep down the price in this country, as their agents at Marseilles were slow in selling, in order to keep it up in those parts. So that no corn from England, except the above, was brought to that market until the first week in November 1748, when about seven English vessels came dropping in one after another. About the middle of the same month, the number was encreased to twelve ; and at the latter

latter end I counted twenty. But it happened that many other of our corn-vessels, after being ready to sail from our own ports, were retarded by contrary winds during the latter part of the winter ; and the frequent storms that happened in that season, gave rise to many false alarms, at these foreign ports, of ships being lost, and quantities of corn sunk and destroyed in the English channel. Stories calculated on purpose to augment the price at their own market. Insomuch that the cargoes which were arrived as above, having been bought in England at 28 s. *per* quarter, and by the benefit of the premium exported at 23 s. *per* quarter, sold at Marseilles at 46 livres *per* charge. Judge then, by the difference of the measure, and price together, what an immense profit was made.

I would not be supposed from hence to insinuate, that we ought ever to deviate from that most beneficial policy of granting a bounty upon the exportation of our corn ; for although in some instances, as in this I have just mentioned, the profits by the sale abroad were so great as might call for its exportation even without the aid of the bounty ; yet as foreign merchants choose to make the most of a commodity, they certainly will buy where it is cheapest, as well as sell where it is dearest ; consequently therefore, if we do not reduce our price upon exportation to as low a rate as it is sold for elsewhere, our rival neighbours will obtain the preference in the demand.

These demands in France were yet the more increased from the additional want and distress of their interior as well as of their maritime provinces ; and accordingly it became necessary to apply for a license to transmit corn to the districts next adjoining. For be it known, that all traffick in corn is declared

declared countreband in every part of the French territories; nor can it be transmitted from one province to another without a permission from the council of state. This permission being therefore now applied for and obtained, opened the drain to pour in a larger quantity of that much wanted necessary provision into their inland parts; to supply which, numbers of our ships arrived at this port early in the spring of 1749, almost all together, as they had set out together upon the change of the wind, soon after the winter. At which time, the appearance of so many cargoes in this one port, though destined for other provinces, lowered the price to the advantage of the buyers. Dilatory methods indeed were attempted by some of their merchants, who wanted to postpone the landing of what was consigned to them, the harbour being full and warehouse-room dear: but the masters of the ships being obliged by *charter partie* to be at a fixed time at other ports to take in their return freights, insisted on an immediate discharge, or else entered their protests, and became intitled to demurrage; so that such of the Marseilles dealers as refused to sell at the then price, converted their very *basilides*, as they call their country-houses, into granaries, to lye by till the first hurry was over, being assured that the market would rise again upon the vast demands they yet expected from the interior parts of the kingdom.

Here we may take a more extensive view of the consequences of that war, which reached farther than the limits of these provinces, to which I have hitherto confined myself. This may be plainly proved from the number of vessels and quantity of corn entered at the port of Marseilles, from the time that
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the importation was free to the period I am now speaking of. I saw, for example, 80 English corn-ships in that harbour on the 25th of March 1749; and I was informed that 50 more had been discharged and sailed away before that time; so that from the 1st of November 1748, to that day, there had been 130 English ships with English corn consigned to this port; most of these were from 200 to 300, and many of 400 tons burthen. As five quarters of corn make a ton, I heard it computed by several masters of these vessels, that one ship with another brought in a loading of more than 1500 quarters: 130 ships bringing each upon a medium 1500 quarters, will make the quantity imported from England 195,000 quarters: and I have since been informed, that in fact, from the 1st of November 1748, to the latter end of November 1749, both inclusive, 380,000 charges, or 217,000 quarters of wheat were imported from Great Britain, and 260,000 charges, or 148,700 quarters from Holland, Naples, Sicily, and the Levant, which makes the whole brought into this port the first year after the war, to amount to 640,000 charges, or 365,700 quarters. Now the community of Marseilles, in which is included all the territory about it for several leagues, consumes, as appears by the amount of the excise on flour, not more than 500 charges in a day, which is equal to 290 quarters English measure. Such a daily consumption will only exhaust 105,850 quarters in a year, which being deducted from the quantity imported as above, there must remain 259,850 quarters for the supply of the other adjacent provinces; and even more, supposing that this community was in some measure subsisted by the produce of its own harvest.

harvest. How extensive then must be their want, and how happy for us that we were able so soon to supply it.

However, although the distress of this province, arising from such a want of corn, was so soon relieved, yet the debts it had incurred, by borrowing money to purchase it, and the damages sustained by the French and Spanish troops, could not be so hastily repaired. From hence they complain, not only of a heavy load of debts, but of an infringement of their privileges, of which, as *pays d'etat*, they are ever jealous; and concerning which they made the loudest remonstrances: but the King sending an extraordinary number of troops in great haste to protect this side of his dominions, had no time to listen to remonstrances about rights and privileges. Provisions and quarters were ordered to be immediately found, and the recompence postponed to a future consideration. To this purpose the public bureau for the army was established at Aix, which was therefore the general rendezvous of all the tribe of commissaries, contractors, clerks and victuallers: from thence accordingly were issued out the orders to the several communities to provide the necessary *etapes* and utensils. The expence of which, in the space of four years, commencing in 1744, and ending in 1747, amounted to upwards of eight millions of livres, or 350,000 l. and we may add upwards of one million more, or 43,750 l. as we shall see particularly stated by and by, for the charges of hay and corn demanded by the cavalry, and for the hire of mules and carriages that were pressed into the service to transport the ammunition and artillery belonging to the army. Moreover, in the year 1744, great number of these mules perished through the want of provender;

provender; and the rest, together with the carriages, were taken at the siege of Coni: the loss of all which is brought to the public account, the King having engaged to pay after the rate of one hundred and twenty livres, which is about 5 l. 5 s. for every mule that should be taken or killed by an enemy, whilst in his service.

We may imagine, at the same time, that such a concourse of men and horses, passing over the high roads and public bridges, must occasion the want of frequent reparations. The expence of these repairs in Provence for four years only, beginning at 1744, and ending in 1747 inclusive, amounted to four hundred forty nine thousand one hundred and thirty four livres, or 19,647 l.

But besides repairing the roads, these provinces had an additional charge imposed upon them of repairing their fortifications, especially on their frontiers. For it is usual, when his most Christian Majesty undertakes these public works, for the defence of any particular place, that he intimates to those who have their lands and possessions near it, that as it is for their security the work is undertaken, he expects that they should chiefly defray the expence of it. Besides these, they were subject to all the other ordinary expences of maintaining their *milice* and the *marcechaussée*, of paying salaries to their officers, of making good past deficiencies, and other incidental charges.

If now we were to enter into a particular estimate of all the expences, losses and damages these maritime provinces incurred by the war, we should find them deplorably weakened and reduced from their former state. I have heard the debts

in Languedoc calculated at a very high rate ; but as I have no proper vouchers, I shall forbear to mention any particulars. Provence suffered much more, as it was the great passage both of the French and Spanish troops, and had been itself invaded by the enemy, and as it was put to more extraordinary expences in repairing its fortifications ; those of Toulon only in 1747 cost the provincial treasure one hundred and twelve thousand livres, or 4900 l. I cannot presume to describe all these calamities in so just and ample a manner as they are set forth in several memorials offered from time to time to the French ministry. It was at last thought necessary to collect the substance of these into one report, which the provincial agents had drawn up, in order to be laid before the next ensuing meeting of the states in November 1748, after the peace was declared ; in which report, all the particulars of their former grievances are recapitulated, with an estimate of the debts that were incurred thereby. The resolutions that were taken upon this by the general assembly, and the new impositions that were levied in pursuance of those resolutions, will best point out the state of their debts and revenues at this period. Accordingly, having procured the minutes of all the proceedings at this assembly, I have here subjoined, by way of appendix, an abstract of such as relate to the present purpose ; and must beg leave more particularly to refer to the report abovementioned, as it contains a circumstantial detail of the most important transactions, and affords us a sure and authentick proof, taken out of their own records, of the state and condition of this province upon the conclusion of the war, and how much it was weakened and reduced from
its

its former state before the commencement of it : from hence, therefore, we may compare the difference, and from hence discover the cause of that difference.

To this purpose, the first object I am to point out, is the encrease of the provincial tax, which, in 1740, before the war was declared against England, was settled at 550 livres *per feu* ; in 1744, the year in which war was declared, it rose to 725 livres *per feu*, and now in 1748, upon the conclusion of the war, it was augmented to 750 livres *per feu*, as appears by the minutes of their general assembly : so that their yearly provincial expence, which I have shewn, was sometime ago provided for by a county rate, producing one million six hundred sixty seven thousand four hundred livres, or 72,948 l. sterling, was now encreased at 750 livres *per feu*, to two millions two hundred and seventy four thousand livres, or 99,487 l. 10 s. sterling. But was this all the difference ? and was neither the province nor the kingdom called upon to answer any other demands than what might be satisfied by such an encrease of provincial tax ? so far from it, that in examining the several appropriated sums according to the repartition made by the assembly of the states in each of the abovementioned years, it will appear that this encrease was chiefly occasioned to answer the extraordinary expences of maintaining their militia, and the interest of debts that had been contracted in the latter years for the purchase of corn : but with regard to all the other debts, which had been contracted during the war, and on account of the war, they were referred to the King for payment, and absolutely refused to be brought to their provincial account : for we may find in the

appendix, by the first resolutions of the assembly of the states,
 “ that an estimate was to be drawn up of their debts in favour
 “ of the communities, in order to request his Majesty for the
 “ repayment of all that had been expended for the army.” It
 is also set forth in the report that was made to this assembly,
 “ That it would be impossible for the province to provide for
 “ these expences but by overburthensome impositions, &c.”
 And therefore they came to a resolution in consequence of this
 report, “ That the most humble and respectful instances
 “ should be made to his Majesty for repayment ;” declaring,
 that to levy a tax to supply the deficiencies of even the two
 preceding years, and at the same time answer the current ex-
 pences of the ensuing, would require an exorbitant sum,
 which it would be impossible to raise upon the communities:
 so that the 750 livres *per feu* was imposed to answer only
 the current service, and the interest of debts that were incurred
 to support their own provincial expences: but as to the in-
 terest of debts created on account of the army, and the de-
 ficiencies of the revenues in the former years on the like ac-
 count, they were postponed to be afterwards taken into con-
 sideration, in hopes that the King would satisfy the same; at
 least for the present it was ultimately resolved by the assembly,
 “ That in the then exhausted condition of their public chest,
 “ no other expedient was practicable to answer those de-
 “ mands, than to have recourse to their accustomed method
 “ of borrowing.” But to borrow money at interest, in order
 to pay the interest of money borrowed, was accelerating of
 ruin beyond redemption.

That we may be apprized of the total amount of these
 debts,

debts, on which many disputes afterwards arose between the ministry and the states of this province, I have taken the pains to separate and range the several items under distinct heads of expences, losses and damages collected from the proceedings of their assembly; which being set down at large in the appendix, I shall only here offer the following summary or recapitulation of the whole.

A recapitulation or summary of the debts incurred in Provence, on account of the war, as stated in 1749.

	<i>Livres.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>etapes</i> and utensils provided for the army, — } 8,430,649		368,840	17	10½
To the hire of mules and carriages, and losses attending the same, — } 1,302,620		56,998	12	6
To the forage for the troops, as well Spanish as French, — — — } 825,441		36,114	00	10½
To contributions, exact- ions, and damages, — — } 7,586,690		331,917	13	00
To overplus expences in repairing the highways, } 218,642		9,565	11	9
To repairing the fortifications of Toulon, — — } 112,000		4,900	00	00
To sums borrowed for the purchase of corn, — — — } 3,960,000		173,250	00	00
To deficiencies of the Revenues for the years 1747 and 1748, — — — } 1,590,294		69,575	6	6
	<hr/> 24,026,336	<hr/> 1,051,162	2	6

This debt of upwards of one million sterling, incurred in so small a time by a single province, not bigger than one of our middling counties in England, remained to be provided for either by additional impositions levied on themselves by the authority of their states, or by duties imposed by the King upon the public in general; let it be adjusted either way, let the burthen fall on the individuals, or the communities, or the province, or the government, the consequences upon the whole must be the same. If the King pays the debt, the public finances must be diminished; if the province pays it, the provincial treasure will be exhausted; and if the communities and individuals are not paid, they must be ruined and incapable of contributing to any future impositions.

Having represented the state of these provinces in the three different periods proposed in the introduction, I shall now, with due submission, offer some hints concerning the advantages we may gain from this examination; and indeed all that has been explained before would, with regard to us, be idle and fruitless, unless it tended to point out how far, and in what manner the kingdom of France may again be distressed upon any future hostilities with England.

It is manifest, from the accounts here stated, that this war obliged the government of France to levy severer impositions than are commonly known; created a national debt much larger than what is stated in their general account; and left cause of complaint amongst the inhabitants, more grievous than what resulted either from the taxes or the debts.—This province, for example, being obliged to provide for the subsistence of all the troops that came into, or repassed their communities,

munities, remonstrated heavily, not only at the expence, but as it was an infringement of their right of being exempted from it; a right they have ever been jealous of, and which, having been disregarded at this time, they were apprehensive would be cited as a precedent for making the same infringement hereafter; insomuch that it may with good foundation be surmised, that if upon any new quarrel in Italy, the same troops should again be obliged to march through this province, they must march as through an enemy's country.

This discontent was yet the greater and more universal, on account of the war itself being carried on, not for any purposes which concerned the national interest of France, but to support the pretensions of the court of Spain to the dukedoms of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which were at that time claimed by other powers; and which, after many disastrous skirmishes and battles, were, by the 7th article of the treaty of peace concluded the 18th of October 1748, yielded to be possessed by the serene prince Don Philip, infant of Spain, and his heirs male, under certain other limitations and conditions therein stipulated; and accordingly that prince arrived at Aix on the 2d of January 1749, in his way from Chambery, to take possession of those territories. But the difficulties that arose amongst the commissaries at Nice, concerning the manner and time of evacuating the places that were to be mutually given up by the several contracting parties, constrained his royal highness to stay at Aix until the 31st of the same month; about which time many of the Spanish, as well as French troops, repassing to their own country, shewed marks of high dislike and national prejudice against each other.

This

This was still heightened by the Spaniards being made to pay very severely for whatever they expended in ready money, and the forage that was provided for them was charged to their government at almost double the price to what was charged for the French troops. These exactions of the French on the one hand, and the high carriage of the Spaniards on the other, caused such mutual animosities between both, that were it expressed in their own terms would indicate the highest marks of inveteracy and disdain, and seemed as if each side was rather desirous of exerting its strength against the other, than of uniting their force against a common enemy.

Should therefore any new disputes arise upon his present Catholick Majesty's accession to the crown of Spain, in settling the removes that from thence are to take place, in pursuance of the 7th article of the treaty just now cited; and should the two monarchs of France and Spain, prompted by the natural ties of affinity, renew their alliance in favour of their own family; we may be the better prepared, from the above representation, what measures to take, if, upon such an event, the seat of war should be transferred from the Northern to these Southern parts of Europe; where we may be called, as guarantees, to assist our allies in opposition to that family-alliance, and for the better preservation of the balance of power in Italy. In which case it will be again necessary to exert our natural strength, by a proper disposition of our fleet in the Mediterranean, in order to prevent the naval forces of France and Spain from uniting, and to intercept any foreign supply of corn and other provisions to their maritime provinces; since we have discovered, that by cutting off this communication

at

by sea, we reduced them to the greatest distress at land.

This must lead us to reflect on the importance of the island of Minorca, and of its convenient harbour of Port-Mahon. Whilst in possession of that fort, we shall be near at hand to divide the naval force of France from that of Spain, and even of one part of France from the other, and prevent the troops of either from being transported by sea to any of the Italian territories: witness in the former war our blocking up their ports, and obliging the Spanish troops to march by land through the provinces of France, from whence arose not only all those jealousies and discontents, but that extraordinary consumption of corn and forage, which occasioned the distress before described. The situation likewise of Minorca, being between the European and African coasts, will afford us an equal opportunity of annoying our enemies on both sides, and protecting our trade in those seas, where the Barbary corsairs usually insult the navigation of all other countries. Add to this, that to be ourselves the masters of a port and harbour, so situated and replenished with ammunition and stores sent from England, must surely be more safe and commodious than any neutral port, both for refitting our men of war, and sheltering our merchant ships. It was no doubt with a view of precluding us from all these advantages, that France was so hasty in getting possession of this island at the commencement of the war in 1756; let us not then conclude the war without retaking it, or having it restored upon the restoration of peace. For whatever may be suggested, to palliate the disgrace of our having lost it, concerning the inconveniency and expence of keeping and supplying a garrison at so great a distance; yet these considerations will certainly be outweighed,

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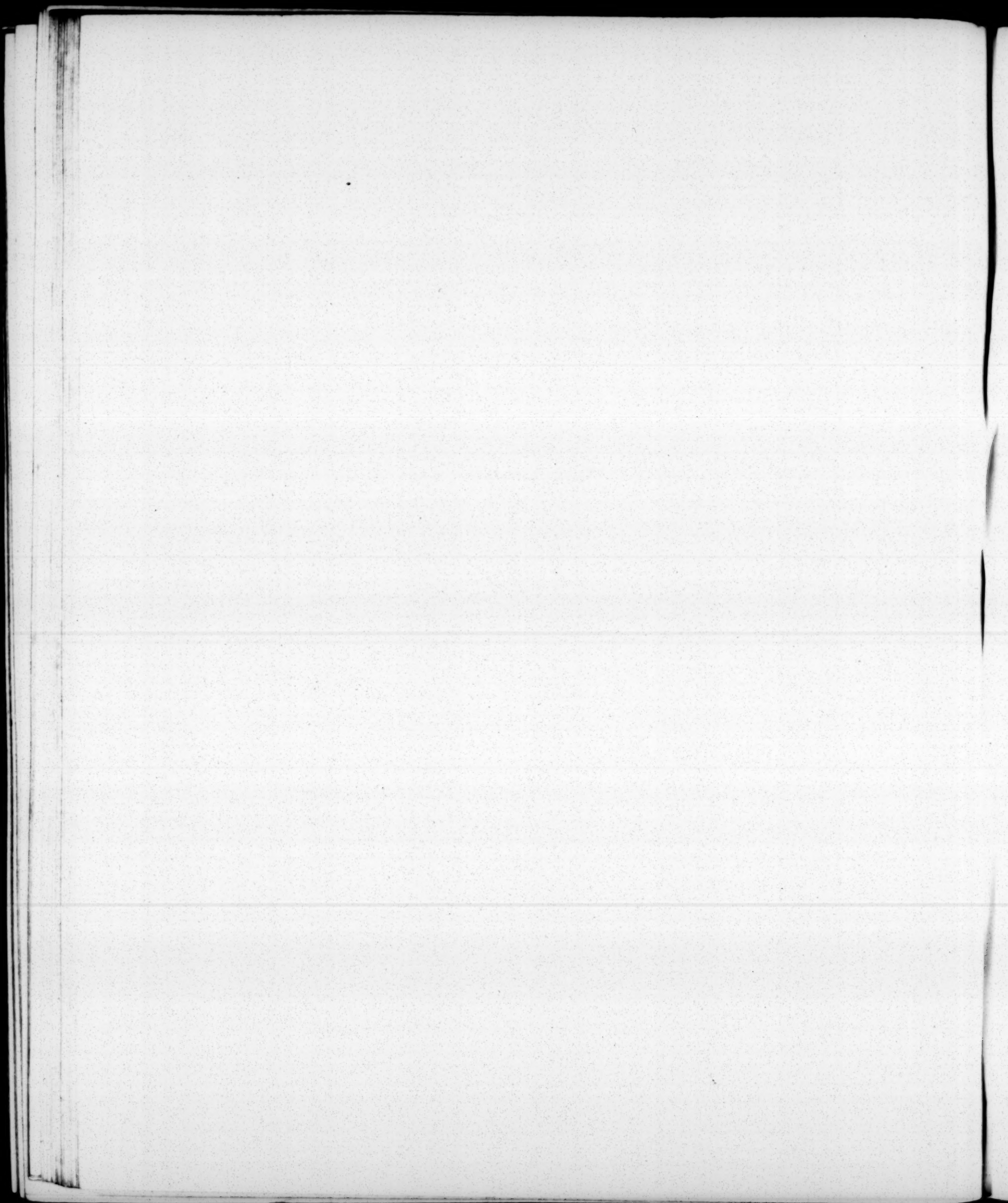
when the advantages above enumerated shall be thrown into the opposite scale: especially if we assume the whole property of the land, in which we may cultivate many valuable productions, incapable of being raised in our climate, and from thence introduce such a beneficial commerce, as will more than answer the expence of maintaining the fortrefs. A fortrefs the more important, since it is a general maxim, that as far as we can extend our trade and navigation, so far ought we to extend our power for its protection.

Upon the whole, I presume to recommend it as a point worthy of our future attention, that in carrying on our hostilities against France, we should exert all means of interrupting the three principal branches of commerce, which depend on the freedom of navigation in the Mediterranean. First, the Levant trade, of which the port of Marseilles has the exclusive privilege, and by its situation is enabled to supplant all the efforts of our once flourishing Turkey company. Next, that branch of commerce, which their Southern provinces carry on through the Streights to the Western sugar islands in America; which we have now discovered to be very considerable, though not suspected to be so, before the many captures of their ships during the course of the former war. And lastly, their trade in corn, chiefly imported by the African company at Marseilles from their settlements on the opposite coasts of Barbary; particularly from Cap Negre, La Calle, and a fort called the Bastion of France. I mentioned before, that to cut off the direct communication from these was a circumstance deserving our consideration, upon which I would offer the following proposals: That as the cargoes are conveyed in small frigates,
and

and the trip over being very short, whether we might not appoint two or three 20 gun ships to cruise opposite to the entrance of these African settlements, particularly of La Calle, being the most convenient and accessible port; and by that means prevent any resource from thence. And whilst our men of war keep a good look-out to intercept the larger vessels at sea, we may make use of Tartannes and Feluccas, well manned and armed, to keep a closer watch near land, and prevent that smuggling trade usually carried on by the like small craft, who coast it *terrà à terrà*, according to the Italian phrase, from Sicily and Naples, all along the strand called the Riviera of Genoa, from whence I have observed before, Provence and Languedoc were oftentimes supplied during the former war.

By such interruption to their navigation in the Mediterranean, we may involve these Southern provinces in the same distress with respect to the loss of their trade, the diminution of their revenues, and the extream scarcity of corn to which they were reduced at the period of 1748; at which time we reaped a farther advantage by the vast exportation of our corn, upon the conclusion of the peace, to relieve the want which we ourselves had occasioned during the war.

To this purpose I was induced, by the duty I owe to my country, to offer the above representation, in order to point out in what manner we may, upon any renewal of hostilities, occasion the same distress, and thereby procure an honourable peace, equally advantageous to the landed and trading interest of Great Britain.



T H E

A P P E N D I X:

B E I N G

An ABSTRACT of the *cayer des deliberations*, or the minutes of the debates and resolutions of the assembly general of the communities in Provence, convened at Lambesc the 24th of November 1748, by the authority and permission of monseigneur de Galois, knight viscount de Glené, seigneur de la Tour, &c. first president of the parliament, and intendant of the justice, police, and finances in Provence, and registered by the orders of messrs. the provincial agents.

November the 24th and 25th. *N. B.* These two first days were taken up in going through the usual forms of opening the assembly, and reading the rules and orders, for hearing *messe*, taking the oaths, &c.

November 26. “ The first president and intendant laid before the assembly two letters de *cachet*, dated at Fontainebleau the 20th of October last, the one directed to messrs. the deputies of the assembly; the other to messrs. the provincial agents, by which his Majesty informs them, that
“ he

“ he had sent to the seigneur de la Tour, first president of the
 “ parliament, and intendant of the justice, police and finances
 “ of the province (in the absence of the duke de Villars, peer
 “ of France, governor and lieutenant-general of the said pro-
 “ vince) the necessary orders for convening and holding the
 “ present assembly; to the end that it may immediately dis-
 “ patch the most urgent affairs, particularly with regard to
 “ the imposition of the sum which his Majesty desires may be
 “ levied in the province the ensuing year, to satisfy the extra-
 “ ordinary expences his Majesty has been obliged to be at in
 “ the course of the present year. The said first president and
 “ intendant also laid before them, the letters patent dated at
 “ Fontainebleau the 15th of October last, importing, that the
 “ signing the preliminaries of peace gave hopes, that the calm
 “ of Europe would soon be re-established; that his Majesty
 “ might be able to yield his people all the ease worthy of his
 “ bounty, and due to their zeal; which they should not even
 “ now wait for, if the security of the state did not constrain
 “ his Majesty to keep up his armies; and if the efforts he had
 “ lately made to support the war had not caused a considerable
 “ disorder in his finances. Upon these motives, and until his
 “ Majesty might be able to relieve his people, he demands of
 “ the present assembly that they take the necessary measures for
 “ raising the sum of 700,000 livres upon the contributory sub-
 “ jects of the said province, with an exception to the towns
 “ of Marseilles, Arles and the adjacent territories that are
 “ separately taxed; which said sum of 700,000 livres is de-
 “ stined for the armaments of the sea, and payable at the time
 “ and in the manner practised in the preceding years.

“ Upon which proposition, the assembly, seizing with eager-

“ ness

" nefs this opportunity of illustrating their zeal for the King,
 " and consulting rather their attachment to his Majesty's inter-
 " est than the real condition of their own abilities, did una-
 " nimously agree to grant the 700,000 livres which was de-
 " manded on the part of his Majesty as a free gift for the en-
 " suing year 1749, the said sum to be paid in the accustomed
 " form and manner, upon the receipt and due acquittal of the
 " keeper of the royal treasure, for which the provincial agents
 " are to expedite their orders in the usual form; and upon
 " the last payment that shall be made of the said 700,000
 " livres, there shall be deducted and allowed for the subsist-
 " ence of the troops of the infantry and cavalry, which may
 " have been furnished by the communities, either in their
 " fixed quarters, or in the quarters where they have been as-
 " sembled. And that his Majesty may be the more speedily
 " informed of the submission of this assembly in the execution
 " of his orders, it is agreed to desire the said first president
 " and intendant to signify the same by his dispatches to be
 " sent with those of the provincial agents by an express mes-
 " senger, who shall be paid 1000 livres, as well for his pains
 " and trouble, as for his expences in going and coming.

November the 27th in the morning, " The president and
 " intendant took notice, that by the instructions sent to him
 " from the King, the assembly was to provide funds for the
 " payment of the interests of several sums therein specified,
 " that were due to the proprietors of the lands and heritages
 " that were taken into the fortifications of Antibes, Seyne,
 " Colmar and Toulon.

" It is also declared by the same instructions, that the King,
 " by his brevet settled in council the 24th of September in the
 " present

“ present year, having regulated the sums that are to be levied
 “ for the expences concerning the militia, &c. there shall be
 “ imposed the sum of 27,058 livres 15 sols, which the depart-
 “ ment of Provence ought to supply towards the said ex-
 “ pences.

“ The same instructions declare, that as it is of indispensable
 “ necessity to provide for the payment of the expences which
 “ have been or may be incurred in the province in the course
 “ of the present year, as well for firing for the troops of his
 “ Majesty, as for other wood and straw necessary for the en-
 “ campment during their stay in the province, it is his Ma-
 “ jesty's intention, that this assembly should provide a fund
 “ for the payment of the same.

“ Upon which the assembly has resolved, That two thirds
 “ of the interest for the principal sums, of which mention is
 “ made in the said instructions, shall be paid at the rate of
 “ three *per cent.* out of the funds that shall hereafter be raised,
 “ for the lands and heritages taken into the fortifications of An-
 “ tibes, Seyne, Colmar and Toulon, &c. the other third
 “ part of the interest being to be paid by the towns of Mar-
 “ seilles, Arles and the adjacent territory.

“ The assembly has also resolved, that provision shall be
 “ made for the sum of 19,327 livres 6 sols, being three
 “ fourths of the sum payable by the communities of the pro-
 “ vince for the expences concerning the militia; the fourth
 “ part remaining being to be paid by Marseilles, Arles and
 “ the adjacent territory.

“ And as to the expences which have been incurred on ac-
 “ count of firing for the troops of his Majesty, and of th-

“ WOC.1

“ wood and straw necessary for their encampment during the
 “ stay they made in Provence, &c.

“ The assembly has resolved, that an estimate shall be
 “ made in favour of the communities, for to state the said ex-
 “ pence, and draw up an account of it, in order to request his
 “ Majesty for the repayment of all that has been expended by
 “ the said communities for the army, in conformity to what
 “ was practised in the years 1707, 1708, 1709, and other
 “ succeeding years.

“ After which Mons. Thomassin la Garde, second consul
 “ of Aix, and one of the provincial agents, said, “ That he
 “ having had the honour jointly with his colleagues to be em-
 “ ployed in the administration of the affairs of this province
 “ during the present year, they thought it their duty to render
 “ an account of it to this assembly, as well to obtain a ratifi-
 “ cation of what had been done, as to give the necessary lights
 “ concerning the matters upon which they were to deliberate.
 “ He added, that these were contained in a report that had
 “ been drawn up for that purpose, and prayed that the arch-
 “ bishop (of Aix) and the rest of the assembly would give
 “ leave that the same might be read by one of the clerks,
 “ which accordingly was done, and is as followeth.”

N. B. This is the report I mentioned in the foregoing
 treatise page 34; and as it contains a particular account
 of the most important transactions within this province,
 during the war, I have transcribed it in its original
 language, together with a translation.

*Mémoires des principales fournitures que le pays de Provence
a faites durant la guerre.*

LE pays de Provence ayant fait des fournitures immenses durant le cours de la guerre, le premier soin de messrs. les procureurs du pays, a été d'en dresser des mémoires pour en faire connoître l'objet, & en solliciter le remboursement. Nous allons en rapporter les principaux articles.

L'article le plus important, est celui des étapes. Par edit du mois d'Août 1661. qui établit le minot de sel en Provence & en fixa le prix à quinze livres, le pays de Provence au moyen de cet établissement, fut entièrement déchargé de la dépense des étapes & de tout entretènement des troupes, en quartier ou séjour, routes & passages. Les registres du pays font foi qu'en conséquence le roy avoit tenu compte au pays sur les impositions annuelles, de tout ce qu'elle avoit fourni pour la dépense des troupes, & cet edit a été rapellé toutes les années dans les délibérations prises dans l'assemblée générale au sujet du don gratuit, dans lesquelles il est dit, que sur les dernières payes du don gratuit, il sera déduit & compensé la subsistance des troupes de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui aura été fournie par les communautés.

Dans le tems de la regence, le roy ayant voulu obliger le pays de Provence à un abonnement des étapes, par arrêt du conseil d'état du 28 Mars 1719. le pays & les communautés qui le composent, en furent affranchis moyennant cent cinquante mille livres l'année en tems de paix, & de deux cens mille livres en tems de guerre.

Cependant la dépense des étapes & utenciles de l'année 1744.
passée

An account of the chief articles of supplies furnished by the country of Provence during the war.

THE country of Provence having furnished immense supplies during the course of the war, the first care of the provincial agents was to state an account of them, in order to make the particulars known, and to solicit the payment. Of which we shall now report the principal articles.

The most important article is that of the *etapes*. By the edict of August 1661, which established the *minot* of salt in Provence, and fixed the price at fifteen livres, the country, by reason of this establishment, was entirely freed from the charge of the *etapes*, and maintainance of troops in quarters or places of abode in routs and marches. Their records testify, that, in consequence of this establishment, the King was accountable to the province for all the annual impositions it raised to defray the expences of the troops; this edict has been referred to every year in the deliberations of the general assembly on the granting their free gift; wherein it was resolved, that a proportional deduction should be made from the latter payments of the free gift, as an indemnity for the subsistence furnished by the communities to the troops of cavalry and infantry.

In the time of the regency, the King being willing to oblige the country of Provence to compound for the *etapes*, by an order of council of state, dated the 28th of March 1719, the country and communities of which it is composed, were exempted from it upon consideration of 150,000 livres a year in time of peace, and 200,000 a year in time of war.

Nevertheless, the expence of the *etapes* and utensils in 1744,

passée dans le compte des impositions de l'année 1745. monte à la somme de 1,125,306 livres : celle de 1745. liquidée en 1746. à la somme de 1,211,406 livres : celle de 1746. liquidée en 1747. à la somme de 2,093,937 livres : celle de 1747. liquidée en 1748. à plus de quatre millions.

Dans ces sommes, sont comprises quelques fournitures exigées des communautés pour le service du roy, & que le corps du pays leur a payées provisionnellement, en attendant qu'il plût au roy d'en ordonner le remboursement.

Nous avons crû qu'une fourniture aussi importante, à laquelle le pays n'a pû parvenir que par des impositions accablantes sur les biens, & des emprunts ruineux & exorbitans, devoit être le principal objet de nos représentations.

Dans l'année 1744. il y eut diverses levées de mulets de trait & de bât : le service forcé auquel on employa ces mulets, & le défaut de nourriture, en firent perir la plus grande partie, dont le pays a payé le prix sous la déduction de cent vingt livres promises par le roy pour chaque mulet mort ou enlevé.

Il paroît par les états envoyés aux ministres par m. l'intendant, que les journées des mulets de trait, pour la seule année 1744. montent à la somme de 341,560 livres, dont ayant été payé à compte 28,900 livres, il reste encore dû 312,660 livres.

Il résulte des mêmes états que le prix des mulets morts ou pris par l'ennemi, avoit été porté par les procès-verbaux d'estimation, sçavoir pour les mulets de trait, au nombre de six cens soixante & quinze, à la somme de 253,336 livres, & pour environ quatre cens seize mulets de bât, à cinquante neuf mille six cens quarante-une livres.

carried to the account of impositions for 1745, amounts to 1,125,306 livres; that of 1745, settled in 1746, to 1,211,406 livres; that of 1746, settled in 1747, to 2,093,937 livres; that of 1747, settled in 1748, to above four millions.

In these sums are included some articles of supplies levied on the communities for the King's service, and which the province advanced provisionally, till it should please the King to order the repayment.

We were of opinion, that such considerable advancements, which the country never could have made without heavy impositions, and incurring ruinous and exorbitant debts, ought to be the principal object of our representations.

In the year 1744, there were great demands of mules for draft and carriage: immoderate service, and want of provender, destroyed the greatest part; for the loss of which the province has paid, deducting 120 livres promised by the King for every mule dead or taken by the enemy.

It appears by the accounts sent to the ministry by the intendant, that the day's-work of the draft mules for the year 1744 alone, amounts to the sum of 341,560 livres, of which 28,900 livres being paid on account, there remains due 312,660 livres.

It appears by the same accounts, that the price of mules dead or taken by the enemy had been estimated by a verbal process, that is to say, for draft mules to the number of 675, to the sum of 253,336 livres; and for carriage mules to the number of 316, to the sum of 59,640 livres.

There

Il fut levé dans le même tems une grande quantité de charrettes, qui furent employées au transport de l'artillerie & des munitions de guerre; toutes perirent ou furent perdues au siege de Coni. Par l'état arrêté & envoyé par m. l'intendant, cette fourniture monte à la somme de 60,800 livres.

Dans la même année 1744. il fut fait diverses autres fournitures. Les fourrages fournis par les communautés du pays de Provence, pour la subsistance des mulets levés en Provence & en Languedoc, employés au transport de l'artillerie pour l'armée commandée par m. le prince de Conti. consistant en foin, paille & grains, ont monté à la somme de 343,078 livres, suivant l'état des rations, attesté par m. l'intendant le premier Novembre 1745. Il a été payé à compte la somme de 100,600 livres. Il reste dû par consequent 242,478 livres.

Les munitionnaires de l'année 1744. doivent des sommes considerables aux communautés ou particuliers, qui ont fourni leurs denrées pour soutenir le service qui alloit manquer. Cette fourniture, dont il n'a été donné à compte que des sommes modiques, & du payement de laquelle les munitionnaires ne se défendent que sur le prétexte qu'il leur est dû des sommes considerables par le roy, monte à environ quatre cens mille livres.

Depuis l'année 1744. diverses communautés & le pays, ont été obligées à des dépenses considerables pour les fortifications. Celles qui ont été faites par les communautés, ont été comprises dans leurs liquidations avec les utenciles & étapes, & leur ont été remboursées par le pays. Mais celles que le pays a faites directement, font un objet tout à fait distinct. Les dépenses des fortifications de la ville de Toulon, faites par messrs. les procureurs du pays depuis le

There were pressed into the service at the same time, great numbers of waggons for the transporting of the artillery and ammunition; all these perished, or were lost at the siege of Coni. By the account stated and sent by the intendant, this article amounts to 60,800 livres.

In the same year 1744, several other supplies were furnished, and the forage levied in Provence and Languedoc, to subsist the mules employed in the transportation of the artillery for the army under the command of the prince of Conti, consisting of hay, straw, and corn, amounts to 343,078 livres, according to the number of the rations attested by the intendant on the first of November 1745: There was paid on account 100,600 livres, consequently there remains due 242,478 livres.

The agent victuallers in 1744 were indebted in considerable sums to the communities or individuals, who advanced their stock to support the service almost on the point of failing: these supplies, which were only rated at a moderate price, and the non-payment of which the agents pretend to excuse upon no other pretext but that of the large sums due to them from the King, amount to about 400,000 livres.

Since the year 1744, several communities, as well as the province, have been obliged to be at considerable expences on account of the fortifications. Those of the communities have been comprised in their accounts of stores and military allowances, and have been repaid them by the province: but those expences provided immediately by the province, are made an article entirely separate. The expences on the fortifications of the town of Toulon under the direction of the provincial

le mois d'Avril 1747. jusqu'à présent, & qui seront continuées jusqu'à la fin du mois de Decembre 1748. montent à la somme de plus de 112,000 livres. Le roy dans tous les tems a tenu compte au pays de pareilles fournitures, & il y a lieu d'esperer que sa Majesté lui en accordera l'entier remboursement.

Les états des utenciles & excedens des voitures fournies aux troupes Espagnolles, ont été adressés aux ministres avec les pièces justificatives depuis l'année 1742. Il s'y agit pour le pays d'une somme de 242,905 livres. Cet article avoit été compris dans les remonstrances présentées au roy en 1745. & comme la cour d'Espagne n'en a pas procuré le payement, l'on espere que sa Majesté voudra bien en tenir compte au pays.

Les fourrages fournis à la cavalerie qui fut cantonnée en Provence dans les mois de Mai & de Juin 1745. montent à la somme de 209,892 livres. L'ordonnance en dépense en a été rendüe depuis le mois de Mai 1747. mais les fonds n'ont point encore été ordonnés.

Les fourrages fournis à la cavalerie cantonnée en 1746. montent, suivant les états qui en ont été envoyés, à la somme de 208,109 livres.

Dans la même année 1746. il fut fourni des places de fourrage à un grand nombre d'officiers généraux, montant à la somme de 6,862 livres. Les conducteurs des équipages exigèrent aussi des places de fourrages, montant à la somme de 578 livres.

La fourniture de quatre-vingt charretes fournies par le pays, pour le transport des fourrages de l'armée commandée par m.
le

provincial agents since April 1747, to the present time, and which will be continued to the end of December 1748, amount to more than 112,000 livres. The King, at all times, has allowed himself to be accountable to the province for these extraordinary disbursements; and there is reason to hope that his Majesty will now grant the full repayment.

The accounts of stores and overplus of carriages, furnished to the Spanish troops, have been laid before the ministry, with the proper vouchers since the year 1742; the sum therein claimed by the province is 242,905 livres. This article was inserted in the remonstrances presented to the King in 1745; and as the court of Spain has not procured the payment, it is hoped his Majesty will be pleased to account for it to the province.

The forage, furnished to the cavalry cantoned in Provence in May and June 1745, amounts to 209,892 livres. The ordonnance for the payment of this expence was issued in the month of May 1747; but the funds to that purpose have not yet been provided.

The forage, furnished to the cavalry cantoned in 1746, amounts, according to the accounts that have been sent, to 208,109 livres.

In the same year 1746, places of forage were provided for a great number of general officers, amounting to 6,862 livres: the conductors of their equipages also demanded places of forage amounting to 578 livres.

The furnishing of eighty waggons to carry forage to the army, commanded by the marshal duke of Belleisle.

le maréchal duc de Belleisle, a duré depuis le 13 Décembre 1746. jusqu'au 17 Février 1747. Cette fourniture monte à la somme de 120,800 livres.

Le pays a imposé pour les ponts & chemins dix-neuf livres par feu; ce qui fait la somme de 57,623 livres, seize sols, huit deniers. Il s'en faut bien que cette somme ait pû suffire dans les dernieres années, à cause des chemins qu'il a fallu faire, & des ponts qu'il a fallu rétablir à l'occasion de la guerre. Il est justifié par les comptes du trésorier du pays, que la dépense des ponts & chemins a monté en 1744. à 102,109 livres. En 1745. à 87,973 livres. En 1746. à 86,319 livres. En 1747. à 172,733 livres. De cette derniere somme, 123,045 livres, a été uniquement employée pour les chemins qu'il a fallu faire à l'occasion de la guerre, & les ponts qui étant construits en pierre & ayant été démolis lors de l'invasion des ennemis, ont été provisionnellement rétablis en bois pour l'utilité du service.

Dans la presente année la dépense des chemins est encore beaucoup plus considerable par rapport aux chemins qu'il a fallu construire ou reparer dans la Haute Provence du côté de Seyne & de Castellane.

Nos rois n'ont jamais voulu que les dépenses des ponts & chemins construits & reparés à l'occasion de la guerre, fussent supportées par le pays. Nous en avons l'exemple dans ce qui fut pratiqué à la occasion de la guerre de 1707. les registres du pays en font foi.

Dans les années 1746. & 1747. les communautés, & souvent les particuliers, ont été obligés à des fournitures en grains, fourrages ou autrement, tant pour les troupes de France que
pour

lasted from the 13th of December 1746, till the 17th of February 1747, and amounts to 120,800 livres.

The province have imposed a tax of 19 livres *per feu* for the repairs of the bridges and highways, which makes 57,623 livres, 16 sols, 8 deniers: this sum was far from sufficient in the last years, by reason of the new roads to be made, and bridges to be repaired, on account of the war. It appears by the accounts of the treasurer of the province, that the expences for bridges and roads in 1744, amounted to 102,109 livres; in 1745, to 87,973 livres; in 1746, to 86,319 livres; in 1747, to 172,733 livres; of this last sum 123,045 livres were intirely expended on the roads necessary to be made on occasion of the war; and the stone bridges, which being demolished at the time of the enemies invasion, have been provisionally repaired with wood or the benefit of the service.

In this present year, the expences for the highways are become much more considerable, on account of the roads necessary to be made or repaired in Upper Provence, near Seyne and Castellane.

Our Kings never intended that the expences for roads and bridges made or repaired, on account of the war, should fall upon the province: we have a testimony of this from what was done in the war of 1707, as mentioned in the records of the province.

In the years 1746 and 1747, the communities, and oftentimes individuals, were obliged to supply both the French and Spanish troops with corn, forage, and other neces-

pour celles d'Espagne; les unes doivent être remboursées par le roy, les autres par le munitionnaire. Cet objet est des plus considérables & des plus importants. Le long tems depuis lequel on ne cesse de travailler aux états de ces fournitures & avec le regisseur, & avec les commis du munitionnaire, en fait voir l'étendue; mais cette operation va être finie, & on n'aura plus qu'à travailler à en procurer le payment aux communautés.

Il a été encore fait mention dans nos mémoires, des contributions & fournitures exigées par les ennemis; des dommages causés & effets enlevés, tant par les ennemis que par les troupes Françoises & Espagnolles. Les états en ont été dressés sur les procès-verbaux des commissaires envoyés dans toutes les vigueries où l'ennemi avoit pénétré, pour y dresser des rapports exacts & justifiés; & ces états ont été envoyés à m. le contrôleur général.

Les ennemis étant entrés en Provence sur la fin du mois de Novembre 1746. & n'en étant sortis qu'au commencement de Février 1747. les communautés des villes & lieux qu'ils occupèrent furent contraintes de payer des contributions en argent, & diverses exactions, soit en argent ou en denrées. Les troupes ennemies ont enlevé les effets des communautés & des particuliers, & causé des dommages infinis. Les dommages causés par les troupes Françoises & Espagnolles, sont aussi très-considérables.

Les contributions que les communautés ont été forcées de payer, montent à la somme de 543,425 livres. Il paroît d'autant plus juste qu'il en soit tenu compte à ces communautés, que ces contributions ne font que le montant de l'imposition qu'elles devoient

aries: some of these are to be repaid by the King, others by the agent-victuallers. This object is the most considerable and the most important: the length of time spent without intermission in settling the accounts of these supplies with the register and agent clerks, is an evidence of their extent: but this work is near ended, and no more will remain than to procure the repayment to the communities.

Our memorials have also taken notice of the contributions and supplies exacted by the enemy, of the damages done, and of the effects seized both by the enemy, and likewise by the French and Spanish troops; accounts of which have been drawn out from the verbal processes of the commissioners sent into all the *vigueries*, where the enemies had penetrated, in order to draw up an exact and authentic relation; and these accounts have been transmitted to the comptroller-general.

The enemies entering into Provence at the end of November 1746, and not quitting it till the beginning of February 1747, the communities of the towns and places they occupied were laid under contributions, and obliged to pay divers exactions both in money and provisions. The enemies troops carried off the effects of these communities, and caused infinite damages. Those occasioned by the French and Spanish troops are also very considerable.

The contributions, which the communities have been compelled to pay, amount to 543,425 livres: it seems the more just that these communities should be indemnified for these contributions, since they were no more than what they were

to

voient payer au roy, de laquelle il ne leur a été encore fait aucune remise.

Les exactions en argent, montent à la somme de 106,890 livres. Celles en denrées ou autres fournitures, à la somme de 1,104,809 livres.

Les dommages causés par les ennemis, montent à la somme de 4,939,053 livres. Ceux causés par les troupes Françoises, à la somme de 732,189 livres; & ceux causés par les troupes Espagnolles, à 160,324 livres.

Tel est le précis des mémoires qui ont été dressés. Ils ont été envoyés à m. le controlleur général, & à m. le comte d'Argenson ministre de la guerre, à m. le comte de St. Florentin, & à m. le comte de Maurepas: on en a fait part aussi à m. le duc de Villars, gouverneur, & à m. le maréchal de Brancas, lieutenant pour le roy en Provence, qui ont toujours donné au pays des marques distinguées de leur bienveillance, afin qu'ils voulussent bien parler en sa faveur dans une si importante occasion. Nos représentations ont paru justes; mais les tems n'ont pas encore été favorables pour obtenir les remboursemens & les indemnités que nous demandons.

to pay to the King, of which nevertheless no part has been remitted them.

The exactions in money amount to 106,890 livres; in corn and other provisions to 1,104,809 livres.

The damages caused by the enemy, amount to 4,939,053 livres; those by the French troops to 732,189 livres; and those by the Spanish to 160,324 livres.

This is the substance of the memorials which have been drawn up; they were sent to the comptroller-general, to the count of Argenfon, minister at war, the count of St. Florentin, and count of Maurepas. They have also been laid before the duke of Villars, governor, and the marshal of Brancas, the King's lieutenant in Provence, who have always given distinguishing marks of their affection to this province, in order to engage them to speak in its favour in so important an occasion. Our representations have been found to be just; but the times have not hitherto proved favourable to obtain the repayment and indemnity we desire.

The

The report then proceeds to give a further narrative of many other affairs relating to the civil government of the province, which the provincial agents had deliberated upon in their previous meetings; wherein there is nothing relative to our interest, except that upon the conclusion, they set forth the difficulties they had found in procuring a supply of corn, by reason of the deficiency of their public treasure, the want of a security whereon to borrow more, and the debts they had already incurred: but their distress on this account having been already described, there is no necessity of giving any farther detail of this report; which being read, the assembly approved and ratified all that had been done by the provincial agents, and thanked them for the care and pains they had taken during their administration; and then resolved,

“ That the most humble and respectful instances should be
 “ made to his Majesty to obtain a reimburiement of the ex-
 “ pence this province had been put to in the years 1744
 “ and 1745, upon occasion of furnishing the *etapes*, as also
 “ for a reimbursement to the several communities, as well as
 “ to the province in general, for what had been expended by
 “ them during the war, in providing mules, carriages, finding
 “ forage, oats and other grain; working at the fortifications;
 “ contributions paid to the enemy; and the damages done at
 “ the time of the invasion; and by the French and Spanish
 “ troops; and for the extraordinary repairs of the highways.
 “ And to the end that these instances and representations may
 “ be

“ be the more favourably heard, they pray the intendant,
 “ that he would support them by his testimony and credit,
 “ and that the archbishop would be pleased to present them
 “ himself the next journey he should take to court.

November the 27th in the afternoon, “ The archbishop
 “ (of Aix) took notice, “ That, according to the custom of
 “ the province, the treasurer had issued his orders in favour of
 “ the communities for the amount of their debts to be com-
 “ pensated to them by the receivers of each *viguerie* out of
 “ the money levied for the King and the province in the
 “ three last quarters ; and that the treasurer had also
 “ given surplus bills payable at three different installments
 “ to such of the communities whose debts exceeded what
 “ they were obliged to pay the receivers of their *vigueries*.
 “ That two payments of these bills had already been satisfied
 “ by means of the efforts that had been made in the present
 “ exhausted condition of their public chest, occasioned by the
 “ extraordinary expences of the war : the difficulty now was
 “ how to answer the third payment, which would be due the
 “ 15th of December next. Borrowing, he observed, was
 “ the only resource at present left to compass this : but as the
 “ fund of 1,200,000 livres voted by the last assembly to be
 “ borrowed, was not yet compleated, it was to be feared,
 “ that this would be too distant a resource with regard to the
 “ present pressing necessities of the communities to whom this
 “ payment was to be made ; and therefore, it being impossible
 “ to pay them but in proportion, as the money to be borrow-
 “ ed by a vote of this assembly should be poured into the
 “ provincial chest, it was incumbent on the communities
 I “ themselves

“ themselves to find out persons to lend it, in order that each
 “ might be paid its respective debt out of the money which
 “ itself should procure to be lent.

“ Whereupon the assembly resolved, by a plurality of
 “ voices, to accept the expedient proposed by the archbishop,
 “ as the only one practicable under the present circumstances :
 “ and to this effect, every community was to use all possible
 “ endeavours to procure money to be lent to the province,
 “ out of which they might be reimbursed either the whole or
 “ part of their debt, if the sum they procured was less than
 “ the whole : and as to those who should not be able to find
 “ any lenders, a contract should be entered into to pay them
 “ an interest of five *per cent.* with an exemption from the
 “ *dixieme.*

“ *November 28.* “ The archbishop of Aix, first provincial
 “ agent, observed, that by a state of the accounts put into his
 “ hands by the *Sieur Gautier*, treasurer of the province, con-
 “ taining the expences of the years 1747 and 1748, it ap-
 “ peared, that the expences of those two years amounted to
 “ the sum of 12,419,397 livres, 7 sols and 4 deniers, and the
 “ receipts to the sum of 10,829,101 livres, 9 sols, 7 deniers ;
 “ so that the expence exceeded the receipts in the sum of
 “ 1,590,294 livres, 17 sols, and 9 deniers. In the receipts
 “ of which years was comprised the fund of 1,200,000 livres,
 “ which the last general assembly had resolved to borrow,
 “ and which nevertheless had not been filled : insomuch, that
 “ to levy a tax sufficient to supply the deficiency of the pre-
 “ ceding years, and to answer the current expences of the en-
 “ suing year 1749, they must be obliged to propose an
 “ exorbitant

“ exorbitant sum which it would be impossible to raise upon
 “ the communities, considering their inability manifested by
 “ the arrears that were due upon the payment of the last im-
 “ position. Under these circumstances, it appeared the most
 “ proper to provide for them by the method of borrowing ;
 “ taking care, at the same time, not to augment the proportion
 “ of their taxes beyond what might be about necessary for
 “ the payment of the interest of the sums so borrowed, in
 “ order to obviate any new arrears. Upon which proposal,
 “ it was resolved by the assembly,

“ That a fund should be raised by a tax of 750 livres upon
 “ each *feu*, to be levied on the communities contributory to
 “ the expences of the ensuing year 1749, according to the
 “ repartition that shall be made hereafter : and as the produce
 “ of this tax will be insufficient to satisfy the arrears of the
 “ preceding years, and to answer the payment of the ensuing
 “ expences, it was resolved, that the provincial agents should
 “ again be empowered to borrow by bills, at the rate of five
 “ *per cent.* with an exemption of the *dixieme*, as far as the
 “ sum of 1,200,000 livres, over and above what should be
 “ necessary for the discharge of the surplus bills due upon
 “ the sums liquidated in favour of the communities, for the
 “ provisions furnished to the troops of his Majesty, as deter-
 “ mined by this assembly at the last sitting ; observing, by
 “ way of preference, first to make good the fund of
 “ 1,200,000 livres voted by the last general assembly.

“ November 29. “ The archbishop of Aix observed, that
 “ the assembly having voted to impose the sum of 750 livres
 . on each *feu*, to be levied at the four quarters of the ensuing

“ year 1749, it was necessary to regulate the sums to be paid
 “ at each of those quarters, making a repartition of the same,
 “ as equally as possible, in order to facilitate the payment.
 “ Upon which the assembly ordained that the imposi-
 “ tions should be appropriated to the following purposes;
 “ namely,

	Tax per feu. <i>Livres.</i>	Sums total. <i>Livres.</i>
To the appointment of the governor	17	51,544
To ditto of the lieutenant-general -	6	18,192
To the companies of the <i>marechaussée</i>	5	15,160
To salaries of officers, and charges } of fortifications — — — }	40	121,280
To interest of old debts - — —	113	342,616
To interest of debts borrowed in } 1747 — — — — }	55	166,760
To payment to the <i>don gratuit</i> to } the King - — — — }	235	712,520
To the composition of old duties —	12	36,384
To the augmentation of the post- } master's salaries — — — }	2	6,064
To the expence of the <i>milice</i> , and } the King's troops — — — }	225	682,200
To the charge of making up the } public account — — — }	7	21,224
To the repairs of highways and } bridges — — — — }	19	57,603
To the compensation of the <i>taille</i> to } messrs. the officers of the parlia- } ment, and to the charges of this } assembly — — — — }	14	42,448
Total —	750	2,274,000

“ All which impositions, above-mentioned amounting to
 “ the sum of 750 livres *per feu*, shall be exacted by the Sieur
 “ *Gautier*, treasurer of the province, upon the foot of 180
 “ livres 10 sols *per feu*, for each of the quarters of the next
 “ ensuing year 1749.

“ The Sieur *Thomassin la Garde* said that there was no other
 “ business to be proposed to the assembly, and desired that
 “ publication might be made of the verbal process of all that
 “ had been agreed upon. Which accordingly was read and
 “ published to the assembly then sitting.

“ After which thanks were returned to the intendant for
 “ the good offices he had at all times rendered to the pro-
 “ vince, and particularly during the sitting of this assembly.

Done and published at Lambesc, 29 November, 1748.

De tout ce que dessus, il appert dans les registres du Greffe
 des etats de Provence, auxquels nous soussignés Greffiers des-
 dits etats, nous rapportons.

De. igina, Greffier.

Ricard, Greffier.

An account of the debts incurred in Provence from 1744 to
 1748, during the war, collected from the foregoing pro-
 ceedings of their assembly, separated and ranged under the
 distinct heads of expences, losses and damages, viz.

For military magazines and utensils provided for the army.

					<i>Livres.</i>
In the year 1744	-	—	—	—	1,125,306
Ditto in 1745	-	—	—	—	1,211,406
Ditto in 1746	-	—	—	—	2,093,937
Ditto in 1747	—	—	—	—	4,000,000
					<hr/> 8,430,649

The hire of mules and carriages, and losses attending the same.

	<i>Livres.</i>
To the hire of draft mules in 1744 —	312,660
To the loss of 615 draft mules, dead, or taken by the enemy, at 120 livres for each mule — — — — — }	253,336
To the loss of 416 saddle mules, dead, or taken by the enemy, at 120 livres for each mule — — — — — }	59,641
To the hire and loss of carriages employed to transport the artillery and ammunitions of war, all taken at the siege of Coni }	60,800
To hay and straw for the subsistence of the mules — — — — — }	243,478
To the carriages and utensils furnished to the Spanish troops — — — — — }	249,905
To the carriages that transported the forage in 1746 and 1747 — — — — — }	120,800
	<hr/> 1,302,620

Forage for the troops as well Spanish as French.

	<i>Livres.</i>
To forage furnished to the horse in 1745 —	209,892
To provisions advanced to the commissaries of war — — — — — }	400,000
To forage furnished to the horse in 1746 —	208,109
To furnishing sundry places with forage —	6,862
To the guides at the places of forage —	578
	<hr/> 825,441

Contributions, Exactions, and Damages.

	<i>Livres.</i>
To contributions which the several communities paid - - - — — — — } 543,425	
To exactions of ready money — — — 106,890	
To exactions of provisions — — — 1,104,809	
To damages done by the enemy in 1747 - — — — — } 4,939,053	
To ditto done by the French troops — 732,189	
To ditto done by the Spanish troops — 160,324	
	<hr/> 7,586,690

Repairs of highways and bridges.

	<i>Livres.</i>
Repairs in 1744 — — — — — 102,109	
Ditto in 1745 - - - - — — — 87,973	
Ditto in 1746 - - - - — — — 86,319	
Ditto in 1747 - - - - — — — 172,733	
	<hr/> 449,134
Deduct 4 years tax by the provinces at 19 } 230,492	
livres per feu — — — — —	
	<hr/> 218,642

Repairing the fortifications at Toulon —	<hr/> 112,000
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Sums borrowed for the purchase of corn.

	<i>Livres.</i>
To cash borrowed in 1746 — — —	860,000
To ditto in 1747 for corn, with an exemption of the 10 ^{me} — — —	1,200,000
To ditto in August 1748 - — —	700,000
To ditto in November 1748 - — —	1,200,000
	<hr/> 3,960,000

Deficiencies in 1747 and 1748 — — —	1,590,294
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*A recapitulation or summary of the debts incurred in Provence,
on account of the war, as stated in 1749.*

	<i>Livres.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>etapes</i> and utensils pro- vided for the army, — } 8,430,649	368,840	17	10½	
To the hire of mules and carriages, and losses at- tending the same, — } 1,302,620	56,998	12	6	
To the forage for the troops, as well Spanish as French, — — — } 825,441	36,114	00	10½	
To contributions, exact- ions, and damages, — } 7,586,690	331,917	13	00	
To overplus expences in repairing the highways, } 218,642	9,565	11	9	
To repairing the fortifi- cations of Toulon, — — } 112,000	4,900	00	00	
To sums borrowed for the purchase of corn, — — — } 3,960,000	173,250	00	00	
To deficiencies of the revenues for the years 1747 and 1748, — — — } 1,590,294	69,575	6	6	
	<hr/> 24,026,336	<hr/> 1,051,162	2	6

F I N I S.

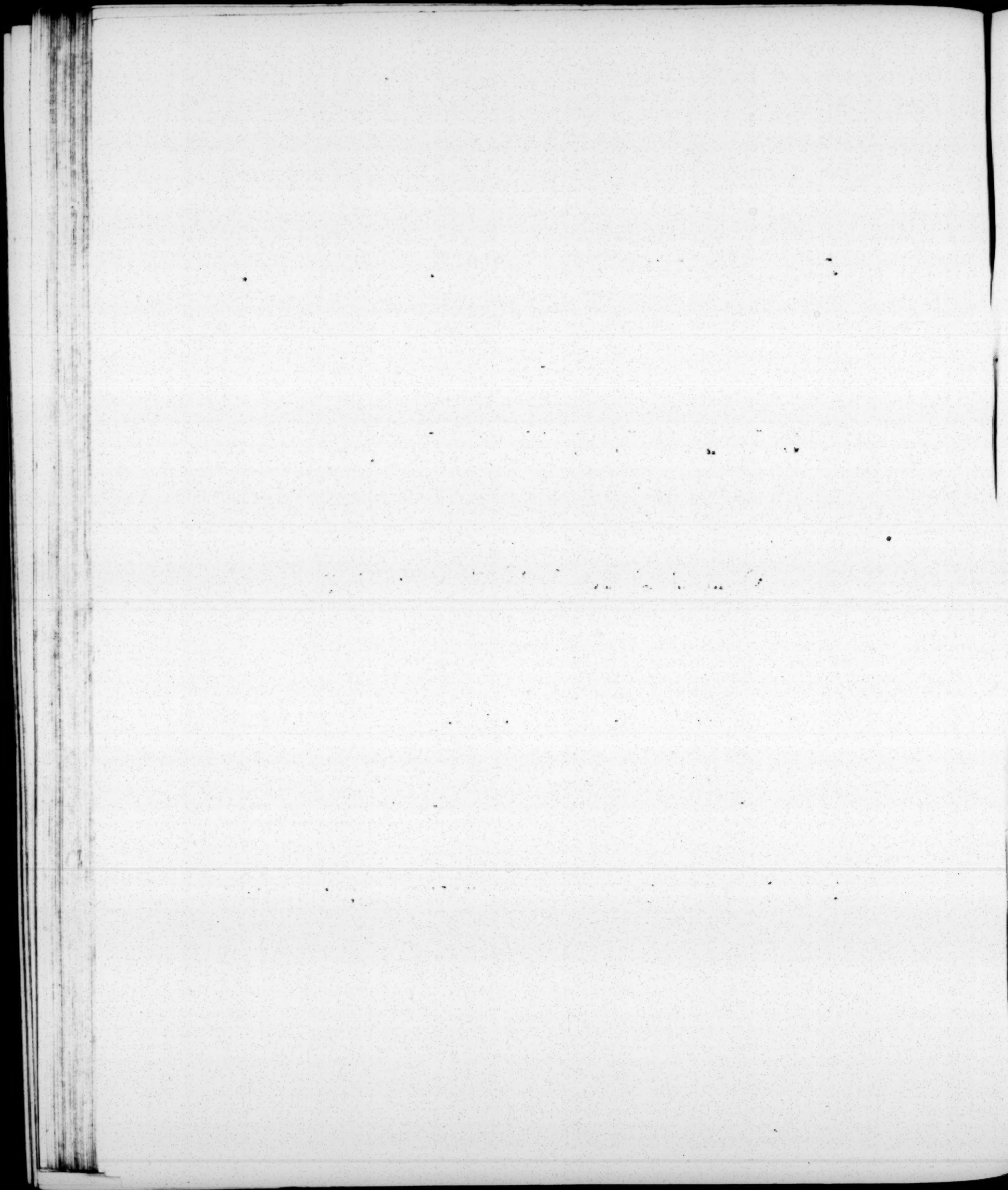
A
SUPPLEMENT, &c.

CONTAINING
OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Three Principal CITIES of *Provence*, viz.

Aix, Marseilles, and Toulon.



A

SUPPLEMENT, &c.

A I X.

I Observed, in the beginning of the preceding treatise, that, in order to form a just notion of the whole revenues, expences, and debts of France, we should take into our estimate, not only what is demanded to be carried into the King's coffers, or royal treasury; but also what is raised to supply the particular exigency of every province, and of every town and community within that province. Having, with this view, given an account of the income and expences of Provence, I shall now enter into a more minute account of the income and expence of the city of Aix, which being the capital of the province, the chief residence of its nobility, and the seat of a parliament, we may suppose the greatest part of

the riches of the country, as in all capitals, centers in this town; from hence, accordingly, we shall find what is to be added to the provincial debts and revenues, by the extraordinary impositions raised in this town, in the same manner as we have seen what is to be added to the national debts and revenues by the extraordinary impositions raised in the province.

Here I must take notice, that although the assembly of the states make an estimate of the general impositions to be levied on the province, at so much *per feu*; yet the gross sum demanded from every community, in proportion to the number of *feus* it contains, is collected by different kinds of impositions: the several towns and districts raising their contributory shares by such methods of taxations as are most agreeable to the forms of their own peculiar jurisdictions.

For example, the *viguerie* of Aix, much the largest in the province, as appears by the book of the *affouagement*, consists of ninety-one communities, and is charged with 652 *feus*, upon which an imposition of 750 livres *per feu*, being the tax for the year 1749, amounts to 489000 livres, or 21,393 l. 15 s. sterling, as the gross demand from the province. This sum is subdivided by the consuls upon each community, to pay their respective shares in proportion to their number of *feus*: accordingly, the community of Aix, including the town and a certain district about it, claiming by ancient grants a right of being taxed only to the seventh part of what is demanded from the whole *viguerie*, is charged with 93 *feus*, which, at 750 livres *per feu*, amounts to 69,750 livres, or 3051 l. 11 s. 3 d. sterling; besides which, it is farther subject to

to the demands of the intendant, for its proportion to the capitation and *dixieme*, amounting together in the year 1749 to 38,282 livres, or 1676 l. 4 s. sterling, towards which, each inhabitant compounds for his individual quota to the community; as the community compounds for its respective share to the province; and as the province compounds for the whole to the King.

To this purpose, the city magistrates being assembled at their council-chamber in the Hotel de Ville, first take into consideration the revenues for which they are answerable to the province, and then make an estimate of the revenues necessary to be raised for the particular expences of their own community, which being added together, they levy the sum wanting, over and above the capitation and *dixieme*, by charging what duties they think proper, either upon the consumption of their provisions, or upon the entry of particular merchandizes, by the amount of which, together with the annual income of their estate, arising from the lease of their farms, rents of their markets, tolls for mules, horses, and carriages, they satisfy both their own private demands, and the demands of the province. All which will be fully explained, by the following account of the expences and income of this city, for the year 1749, which, serving as an instance of what is raised by all the other communities, will admit of several observations that may be drawn from thence, concerning the state of the kingdom in general.

Expences of the community of Aix, for 1749.

	<i>livres.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the <i>taille</i> at 750 livres <i>per feu</i>	69750	3051	11	3
To the police and salary of officers	33774	1477	12	3
To the interest of debts — —	131968	5773	12	0
	<u>235492</u>	<u>10302</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>

Income of the community of Aix, in 1749.

	<i>livres.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By the ferm of their butchery —	60000	2625	0	0
By the ferm for the sale of flour	126000	5512	10	0
By the ferm for the sale of fish —	20000	875	0	0
By the ferm for the sale of oil —	6100	266	17	6
By the licenses for the sale of wine	4800	240	0	0
By the town duty on house lamb	2000	87	10	0
By the duty on candles and greafe	9025	394	16	10½
By the rent of the hot baths ———	630	27	11	3
By the town duty on hay ———	100	4	7	6
By the magazine of corn — —	3050	133	8	9
By the ground rent at the place de Marché	107	4	13	7½
By the rent at stalls at the place de Marché	130	5	13	9
By the toll for horses and mules —	1350	59	1	3
By the toll for carriages — ———	700	30	12	6
By pensions annually received ———	1500	65	12	6
	<u>235492</u>	<u>10302</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>

We

We are first to remark, how the sums, thus raised, are divided and appropriated to answer the demands of the province, and to the use of their own community, according to the following proportion :

To the province.

			£.	s.	d.
To the <i>taille</i> at 750	—	—	3051	11	3

To the community.

To the police and salaries of officers	1477	12	3	}	7251	4	3
To the interest of debts	5773	12	0				
					<hr/> 10302	<hr/> 15	<hr/> 6

By this appropriation it appears, that above half of what is raised by the town duties, is never carried to the provincial account ; as, in like manner, above one third of what is raised by the provincial duties is never carried to the national account.

We are next to observe, that these town duties, by which so great a revenue is raised, are purposely imposed to save any tax on the landed estates within the community round about, which, so far from being charged, are quite excused from paying any contribution, in consideration that the amount of it is satisfied by the duties levied in the town, where the owners of these estates are supposed to reside ; which privilege is annexed to all lands adjoining to great towns, where the revenues are thus collected by town duties. These lands are called *terres ferrages*, and, next to the *terres nobles*, sell for more years purchase than any others.

This

This policy of compounding for the land-tax by imposing town duties, is yet the more artful, as thereby strangers, as well as natives are made to pay their share to the public contributions; for the revenues, thus arising from ferms, tolls, an decxises, are paid in the end by the consumer; so that every transient visitor, passing through, leaves something towards the augmentation of this general fund.

Let us next enquire for what purposes these extraordinary town duties are levied? not upon the provincial account; for we find 3051 l. 11 s. 3 d. satisfies that demand; nor upon account of the current service of their community; since 1477 l. 12 s. pays all their servants, and other charges of their police; but it is their extraordinary debts that demand these extraordinary impositions; to pay the interest of which, they are obliged to raise 5774 l. 9 s. 4 d. sterling *per ann.* Supposing this to be at the rate of 5 *per cent.* their debt must be upwards of 115,490 pounds sterling.

Lastly, when we come to examine upon what commodities these duties are imposed, we find their chief income proceeds from ferming the sale of their meat and their flour, the first being let at 60,000, and the other at 126,000 livres *per ann.*

Here I beg leave to propose an use we may make of our knowing the amount of these duties in any community; I mean, that as from thence we may calculate the quantity of provisions consumed, so from the proportion of that consumption, we may nearly estimate the number of its inhabitants: with regard to this, although I have by me an account of the annual amount, for several years, of the beef, mutton, lamb, &c. provided for the use of the community of
Aix;

Aix ; yet I do not pretend to form such an estimate from these articles, as meat is not equally nor universally consumed, considering the times of Lent, and of fast days, and the numbers of religious orders, and of poor people, who scarce ever eat any meat at all : but we may make our calculation with a greater degree of certainty from the excise on flour, as on this article we know depends the supply of bread, consumed by people of all conditions, at every meal, and on all days, fasts as well as festivals ; being therefore informed of the amount of the excise on a certain weight of flour for any given time, we may compute the quantity of bread that is produced, and the number of mouths necessary to consume it *.

For example ; the sale of flour, within the district of Aix, is fermed, as abovementioned, at 126,000 livres *per annum*, which, as I was informed, is raised by a tax of three livres on every charge of flour. So that there must be 42000 charges consumed in a year to make up that revenue to those that ferm it, and we cannot set down less than 8000 more, for the fermer's profit, therefore we may suppose the whole consumption to amount to 50000 ; each charge weighs 270 lb. one pound of flour makes one pound of bread, of which we may suppose every man, woman and child, one with another, to consume about one pound and a half in a day, or at least two charges in a year ; consequently, to take off the annual quantity of 50000 charges, there must be the annual consumption of 25000 people within the community, including, upon an average, not

* See a treatise lately published, entitled, the Police of France ; where in page 126, this method is proposed for computing the number of inhabitants in the city of Paris.

only the natives and constant inhabitants, but all transient passengers, and other strangers. I am aware of some objections that may be made to the uncertainty of this estimation; but, at least, it may serve to correct the vain and bombast accounts, which the natives in most places, especially in France, are apt to give concerning the number of their people.

As these town duties are the same in all other cities and communities, I hope this one example will suffice, to explain by what channel the revenues of every province, and of every community within the province, are conveyed towards the supply of the general revenues of the kingdom; and how far the debts and expences of each contribute to accumulate the burthen upon the whole: but it may be remembered, I have before observed, that the war, whilst it occasioned a necessity of augmenting their revenues, at the same time put a stop to those resources from whence they were supplied, I mean, by the interruption of their trade and navigation; the state and condition of Marseilles, during that period, will afford us a flagrant instance of this, of which therefore I shall proceed to give an account.

MARSEILLES.

MARSEILLES.

ALTHOUGH Aix be the capital of the province, yet Marfeilles, on account of its trade, is much the larger and more populous city: for the proof of this, I may set out with the same method of calculation I made use of upon the conclusion of the former chapter; for it appears by the amount of their excise on flour, that 500 charges are consumed in this community every day, which consequently makes 182,500 charges in a year; and allowing two charges for the consumption of each individual, their total number of people must be 91,250. Thus trade and commerce allure and invite a multitude to croud together, in order to partake of its benefits and divide its profits; from hence they are enabled to answer both the demands of the public, and the additional expences of their own community: a war therefore must affect them with a double distress; not only by the encrease of expences, but by a diminution of their trade and credit. This is the next point I proposed to consider, and accordingly shall offer no other observations on this trading city, than what relate to its manufactures, commerce and navigation.

The manufactures of this town consist in working brocaded silks and woollen cloths, in quilting calicoes, in making soap, essences, and liqueurs, and in fashioning porcelain or earthenware; none of these are very considerable, for, first, there

are but two houses, established by letters patent, with an exclusion to all others, in working brocaded silks, stiled, like all other monopolies in France, the royal manufactures; the largest of these contains only six looms; scarce any pieces are put into them but what are bespoke before-hand, and scarce any bespoke but for inland consumption. The woollen manufacture is of the coarser kinds of cloths, designed for the Levant, and is another monopoly, belonging to the department of the galleys, in which a company is established, with privilege of employing a number of galley-slaves at the fabrique set up in the arsenal, with no more pay than six or seven sols *per diem*; and, by this cheapness of labour, they are enabled to undersell all the other merchants. The quilting of calicoes with cotton is confined to few hands, since its dearness prevents any great demands, and as it depends on foreign materials, the least interruption to foreign trade ruins the people, mostly women, concerned in this employment. The soap is not made so good here as what may be had at Naples, and other parts of Italy; nor are the essences and liqueurs esteemed like the compositions of the same sort at Montpellier: lastly, their earthen-ware, though brought to great perfection, yet, as it is equally improved in many other parts of France, is greatly supplanted by the number of competitors: from hence we find that the riches of this city chiefly arise by exporting the products and manufactures of other cities and provinces, and importing such foreign commodities as are wanted for home consumption or re-exportation. It may not therefore be improper to enter into a particular account of the several branches of this foreign commerce.

The

The exclusive privilege this town enjoys of a direct trade to and from the Levant; and the facility and quickness by which it can supply those Eastern parts with such cloths as may happen to please the reigning taste, give the merchants here many superior advantages over our Turkey company in England, who being at a greater distance, cannot so speedily furnish the demands that are often suddenly made for a particular fashion or colour; the French cloths sent thither are chiefly manufactured at St. Pons, Montolieu, and Carcassonne, in Languedoc, made of their own and Barbary wooll mixed together, and sold from five to six, seven and eight livres *per ell*, It is colour more than fineness that gains them a recommendation in Turkey; the French government is so well apprized of this, that the strictest rules are laid down, by numbers of ordinances, for the direction of those who are concerned in dying these cloths; add to this, the natural advantages they have in many places of air and water, by which they are enabled to strike out such peculiar colours, as cannot be imitated by art in another climate.

This town enjoys yet another exclusive trade to the coasts of Barbary, by means of an established company, stiled by the letters patent the company of Cap Negre, though usually called here the African company: this is the same I mentioned in the foregoing representation, as being obliged to have a magazine replenished with corn for the supply of the province, which is brought from their settlements on the Barbary coast; together with some other necessary materials of wool, tallow, skins of beasts, wax and coral.

But

But the greatest trade from hence, and which, as I said before, we never suspected to be so till the war discovered it, was carried on by numbers of ships of large burthen to St. Domingue, Martinique, and other parts of the Western and Northern colonies in America belonging to the French. To whom they not only export the natural products and manufactures of their own province, but make a double profit by the re-exportation of the sugars, indigo, tobacco, and other returns from thence, as having, by the conveniency of their situation, the quickest opportunity of conveying these commodities to the neighbouring coasts of Italy and Spain, as well as to the Levant, and all parts of the Archipelago. The merchants at the Western ports of France are extremely exasperated that those of Marseilles should participate with them in an equal liberty of trade to the West Indies, and at the same time enjoy an exclusive one to the Levant; and be able also to supplant, by the quickness of communication, the rest of the ports on the ocean, in the sale of the American products in all the other parts of the Mediterranean. The truth is, the *marseillois* gain such immense profits by this commerce *d'entrépot*, that they would, I was told, compound with the loss of all others, for the preservation of this. We may add the farther considerable gains they make by the Bank and Newfoundland fisheries; as the charge of freight, upon re-exportation, is very small from hence to Genoa, the ecclesiastical state, Naples, Sicily, &c. So that they engross this trade also in the Mediterranean from all the Western ports of their own kingdom.

How

How fatal then was it to have all these advantages interrupted by the declaration of war against England in March 1744, which was the more cruel to the merchants, as they had not the least notice of the design, till they heard it published; consequently their ships out at sea were seized on unawares, and carried into our ports, whilst they were sailing, as they thought, with tranquillity to their own. This was an unexpected blow upon their insurers; for I was informed very large insurances were made amongst themselves; nor was this business so entirely engrossed by the English, as has been suggested: but, be this as it will, what with captures of vessels out at sea, and the interruption of commerce at home, their trade gradually diminished, till at last the credit of their merchants, like the credit of their government, equally subsisted by mere artifice; fictitious bills, with endorsements of names mutually lent to one another, went round in a course of circulation, whilst prompt payment was usually put off, upon pretence of having effects abroad, which could not be brought home; till at length the restoration of peace compleated the ruin which the war had begun. This may sound like a paradox; but it will not appear so, when we consider that the peace deprived them of those pretences on which their credit was upheld during the war; for now, time and opportunity being given to bring home their pretended effects, and no returns made, their deficiencies were exposed; and, as they supported one another by mutual props, the first that failed brought down all the rest: thus, in the latter end of the year 1748, several persons became bankrupt, who, before the war, were esteemed amongst the
number

number of their *millionaires* ; a term given to their rich merchants and brokers, when supposed to be worth a million of livres. After these, fell all their dependants, and cash and credit equally sunk together. In fact, the sword was run through the body during the war ; and whilst it continued there, it stopped up the wound ; but being pulled out upon the conclusion of the peace, the blood followed and the patient expired.

The vast importation of corn which I mentioned in the former part, as it suddenly enriched some, contributed not a little to hasten the ruin of others ; for, as it occasioned a vast demand for money and bills, many persons were too hard pressed, especially as the latter cargoes were not sold off with the same quickness as the first : we may suppose the freight only of the English ships in the harbour, in the month of March 1749, at which time I counted between 70 and 80, must have amounted to a very considerable sum : this, by the custom of merchants, must be paid the day after the delivery of the cargoe, or the captain enters his protest ; which, being entered against several, of course blew up their credit.

It happened moreover that several corn vessels were destined to this harbour, not only to sell their cargoes, but the ships themselves ; and, as the French are most fond of ships of their own built, some, which had been taken from them during the war, were now laden and sent hither for sale, by way of greater temptation : but the agents for buying, first cried down the market, upon the supposition of our having more upon our hands than we knew how to employ ; and also upon our willingness to part with their ships, from the same
national

national partiality to our own ; therefore little was offered for those that were French built, and less for others. In the next place, if the price was accepted, the proposed method of purchase was by bills, payable upon the return of the first and second voyage the ship should make ; that is, they would buy a ship to undertake a voyage, and undertake a voyage to pay for the ship. I do not say these proposals were general, but I heard they were frequently made, and I mention it to show how hard they were driven.

Upon the whole, they compute, that during the war 500 vessels, great and small, destined to, or sailing from, this port, were taken or destroyed by the English, either in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, or the ocean : the computations after this, upon the loss of the cargoes, and other losses occasioned by the interruption of commerce, are various ; the most moderate account states it at thirty two millions of livres ; amounting to 1,400,000 l. sterling. And if we add to the losses sustained by the continuance of the war, the profits that might have been otherwise made by an uninterrupted peace, we shall find the kingdom of France has little reason to rejoice at an English war, with regard to its commercial interests on that side.

Having represented how far the revenues of the Southern maritime provinces may be diminished by our interrupting the trade of this maritime port ; we must, in the next place, consider it not only as a port of commerce, but as a royal arsenal, with dock-yards and stores for the support of the naval power of the kingdom : a power equally dependant on trade, and the revenues that arise from thence.

In this light, it will be proper to take notice of what formerly composed a separate establishment of the marine of France, in these Southern provinces bordering on the Mediterranean; I mean the department of the galleys, heretofore distinct from that of the men of war, until the edict of the 27th of September 1748, just at the conclusion of the war, united them both under one.

It is well known, that formerly the arsenal of Marseilles was singly appropriated to the department of the galleys, where, some years ago, I have seen sixteen or seventeen ranged along the sides of that harbour, each containing about 300 slaves, besides numbers of others in the arsenals, or the *lagnes*, as the buildings are called, which are destined, equally with the galleys, for their confinement. But now, upon the new regulations, most of these galleys, with their crews, are sent to the other sea-ports of Toulon, Rochefort, and Brest, and are to be considered, for the future, rather as contributory to the strength of their marine, than as a part of the marine itself. It may not however be improper for us to be apprised of the order and œconomy of this establishment, which is made to be subservient to many useful purposes of their police, as well as to the augmentation of their naval force. This I have accordingly explained in another treatise, entitled, the Police of France, to which I must beg leave to refer.

It seems the new modelling of this department is owing to the little service done by the galleys during the course of the war; and therefore the expence for the future is to be turned toward the augmentation of the other part of the marine; no new galleys are to be built, several of those
remaining

remaining in the harbour, as observed before, are sent into other ports, and the large apartments, in which were contained the necessary stores, are appropriated to other uses. The barracks also, that were formerly built on the quay, are now pulled down, and thereby more room made for the merchant ships and other vessels to come up and lay along-side. With respect to these, there are many excellent rules relating to their being piloted into port, the berths they are to take, and the time and method of delivering their cargoes, together with many necessary precautions to prevent any accidents by fire, or tumults amongst the mariners: all these are printed, and the masters of the vessels apprised of them as soon as they come to an anchor.

This port has not indeed the conveniency of the flux and reflux of the tide, but yet enjoys a no less considerable advantage by being a free port; which privilege, like every other privilege in France, is purchased by the citizens, at an annual rent or gratuity to the King, and reimbursed to themselves by a duty-laid on the anchorage. It is strongly fortified by two forts on each side of its narrow entrance; one of which, being on an eminence, was built by Lewis XIV, as well to keep the town itself in awe, as to protect it from any foreign enemy. The story is well known, how that monarch, being informed of the turbulent dispositions of these inhabitants, and of the number of *bastides*, or country-houses, which the richest of them had built on the plain adjacent to the town, sent them a message, that he thought it was but fit their King should have his *bastide* also amongst them; and therefore demanded a sum of money to be raised to enable him to build one;

which being accordingly granted, he erected this fortress, called by some the *bastide* of Lewis XIV, which commands all the others, and keeps their owners in due subjection.

But notwithstanding the boasted security of this city from any attack by sea, it lies quite exposed and unfortified on the land side; and perhaps a landing-place might be found in some of the bays not many leagues eastward, from whence troops, being disembarked, and marching through the defiles, and under the protection of the high mountains, might possibly enter the town without much annoyance from its forts. However, I do not pretend to point out any enterprize of this nature, which, at the most, could be attended with no other consequence than a few days plunder; for the garrison of Toulon, lying so near, would soon come up to its assistance, and oblige an enemy to retire. Toulon is the grand barrier of Provence; could this be taken, Marseilles, of course, and the whole country, must yield to the same subjection. This therefore is that naval power we should endeavour to weaken; and accordingly, I shall proceed to offer some observations on the state of that important fortress.

T O U L O N.

THIS city is boasted of as impregnable, both on account of its natural strength, and its artificial fortifications. It is equally renowned on account of the dock-yards for building the King's ships, and preserving their stores.

Its natural strength on the west side, consists in the narrowness of the two passes by which any access can be gained to it, being roads running in a bottom between some high mountains, which are at about a league's distance from the town; the one called the Gorge de Bouffet, being the neck or inlet that leads from Marseilles; the other stiled the Gorge de St. Maximin, as being the narrow passage from an inland town of that name. These defilés are but just wide enough for two carriages, and continue winding through the mountains for several miles; so that the approach of a large army may be prevented by a small number of men, and a few batteries erected to guard each pass. The north side of the town is defended by what is called the rock of Toulon, and the sea is its natural protection on the south. Thus there are but two entrances

entrances by land, the one by the gate of Marseilles on the west side, and the other by the gate of Nice on the east side. These are both strongly fortified by art; and the former, besides the narrowness of the passes above described, has the additional protection of a branch of the outward harbour coming up to the side of the road, near which the men of war may be drawn up to prevent the advancement of an enemy, especially as the rivulets, which supply the town with water, proceed from springs that rise in the upper part of this plain. The plain on the other side towards Nice, on which the duke of Savoy intended to make his approaches in 1707, is now undermined for near the Space of half a mile; nor are any houses or olive-trees suffered to be upon it to intercept the view; and, though the country is open and wide, yet there is but a narrow space for digging any entrenchments, because the ground next the harbour is mostly morass. And, for the better preventing the approach of an enemy, there is a battery called the Old Fort, on the north-east side of the rock, about a mile distant from the town, which flanks all the road, and commands the passage.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, they were, it seems, apprehensive of some defect and weakness, from the consternation that was shewn upon general Brown's marching from Nice into this province in December 1746. Whereupon new works were ordered for enlarging the fortifications farther into the plain, and a design planned out for building a fort on a high eminence in the district of la Malgue, about a mile distant, and opposite to the Old Fort, so as to oblige
an

an enemy to pass between two fires, upon their advancement by land, and also to command the outward and inward harbour against any naval approach. This project has, however, been suspended, it being surmised, that a fort built on an eminence so near the sea, might probably, at a future war, be attacked and taken by the English; which, as it commands both the town and the harbour, would be the same as to take the town itself. But they have compleated some other additional works for the better defence of the narrow plain on the north side between the rock and the town; and here, indeed, the old fortifications had been miserably neglected. Marshal Belleisle therefore made some extempore repairs by gabions and fascines, upon the expectation of a siege by the allied army in 1746. And, for the better security of this pass, they have now made three redoubts in three several eminences of the rock, at a little distance from one another, with *souterains* to the town from each; and, as the space is not half a mile wide, an enemy must march between two fires all the way, upon any attempt to compass the town from the east to the west side. The main design of thus guarding this pass, seems principally intended for the protection of the springs of water, which, as I took notice before, rise on the west side, and from whence the town and dock-yards are solely supplied. Could these be cut off, all the fortifications would prove of no use, and the town must surrender.

For the better illustration, I have annexed a plan of the former fortifications, to which I have added the new intended outworks, not sketched by any scale of their exact proportions and distances, but designed only to give, upon a general view, a more clear idea of the whole, than what can be formed from any verbal description.

The importance of this town consists, secondly, in its store-yards and docks, for the construction of the King's ships, and advancement of the naval force of France. These accordingly are most worthy the observation of every stranger, especially of an Englishman, and must require a more particular description.

The entrance into the park, by which name the dock-yards are called, is through a magnificent gate, built in the stile of a triumphal arch, with an inscription over it, in which Lewis XIV. assumed from us the title of being lord and master of the seas. The space within contains many piles of buildings, ranged round a large basin of water, having a communication to both the inward and outward harbours, by narrow cuts, that are chained across. These buildings are allotted to the several departments for making, or laying up, the stores and tackling belonging to the King's ships; and each distinct office is kept, in the same regular manner, as at Portsmouth and Chatham, though not with the same superfluous expence of large houses for the officers, each one here being content with only his compting-house, and two or three apartments adjoining.

A long pile of building at the upper end, with two pavilions on each side, is supported by open columns divided into
three

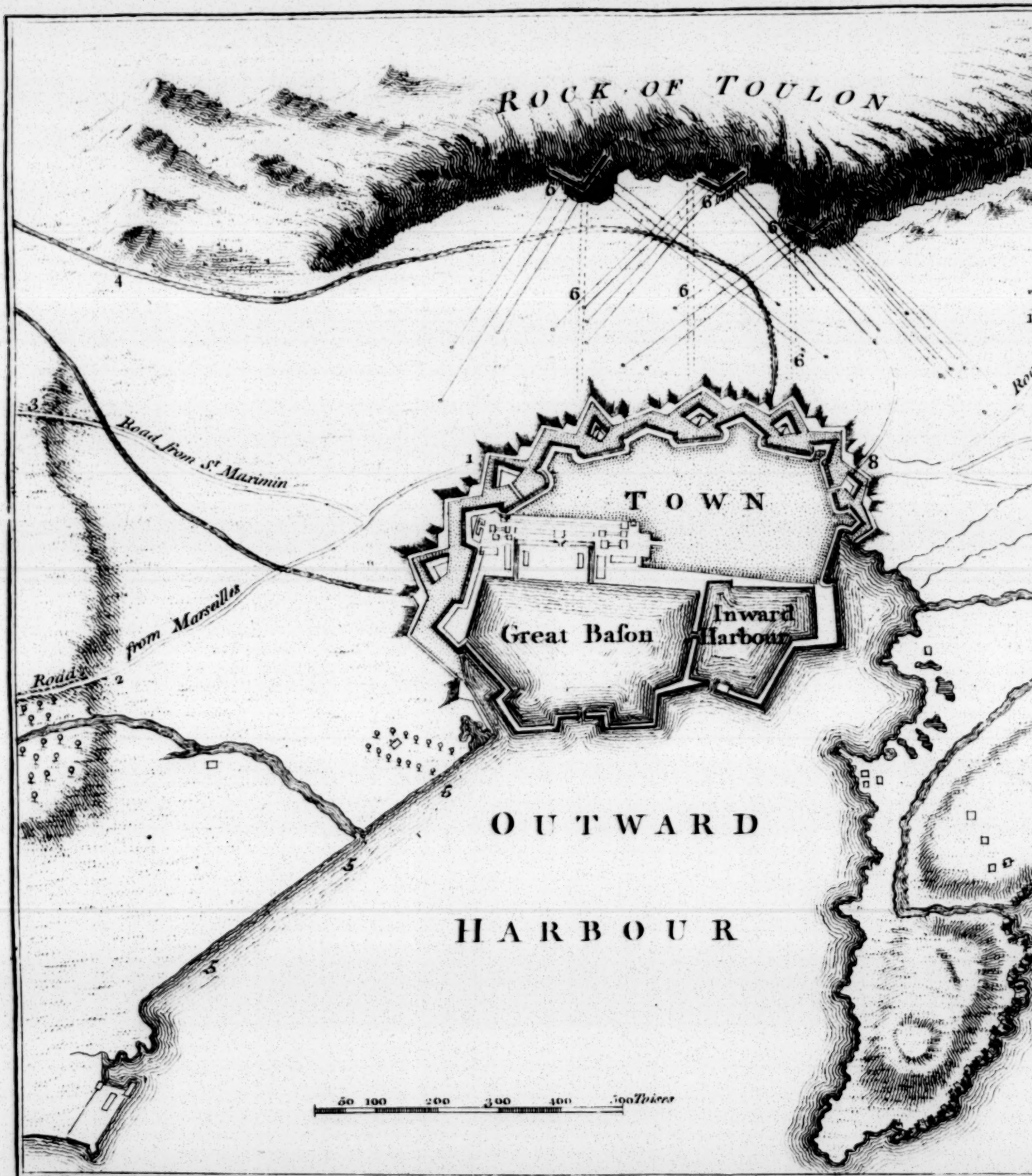
Pl. 96.

A SKETCH
of the
Projected Out-Works
of
TOULON,
in 1749.

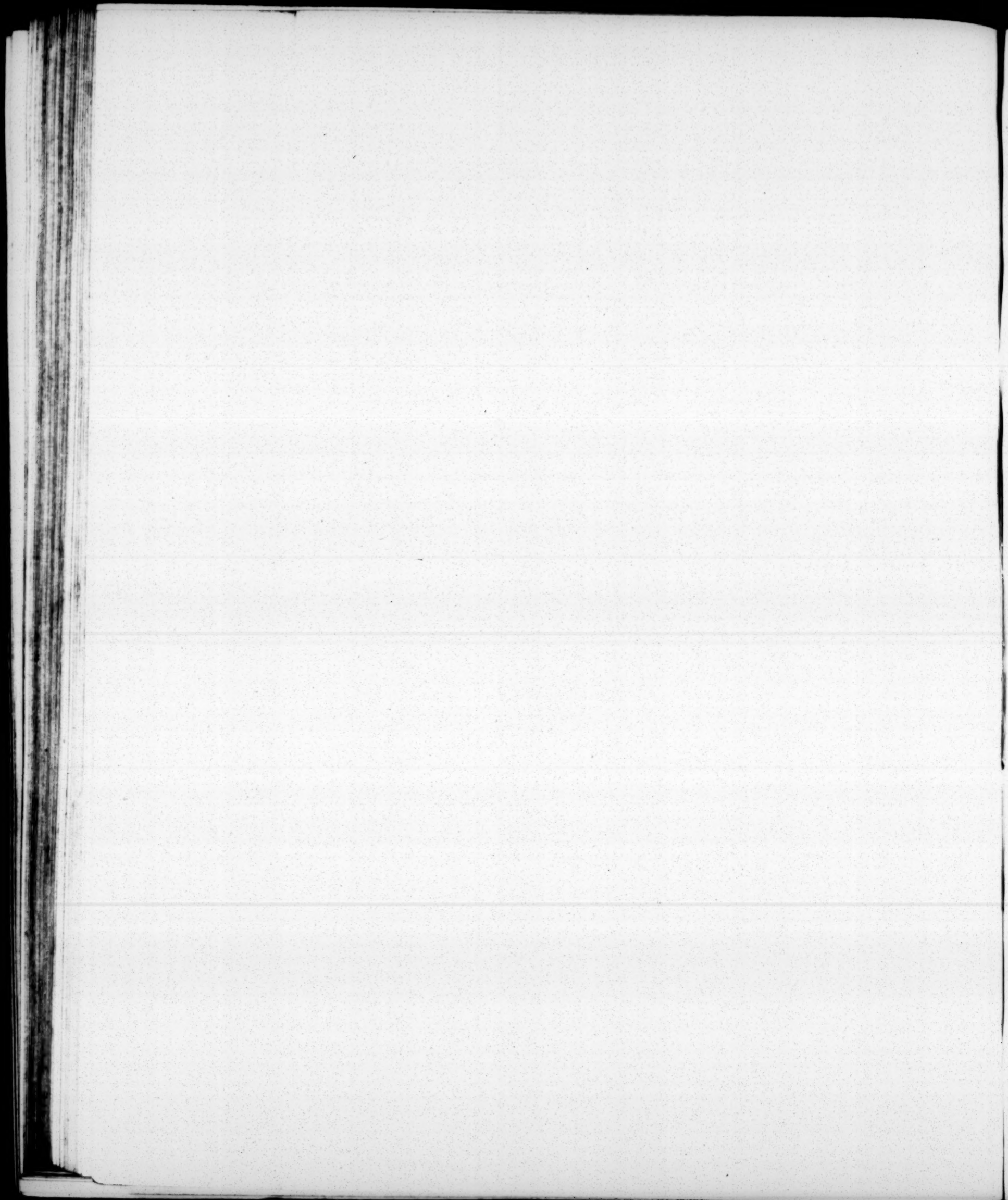


REFERENCES.

Marseilles	7. The old Fortifications now Repairing
Country leading to Marseilles	8. The Gate of Nice
S. Maximin	9. The old Fort
Water	10. The new Intended Fort
Men of War to guard the Plain	11. The Cross, shewing how far the Ground is
its and Southerains	Undermined







three rope-walks. Some part of the hemp and the tar, that is used for the cordage, is of the produce of France ; the first from Franche Comté and the latter from Provence ; but this is not near so good as what they purchase from the northern countries. The apartments above stairs are destined for combing and spinning the hemp on one side, and for weaving it into sail-cloth on the other : which manufacture is so much cheaper to the King, as great part of it is compleated by the assistance of the galley-slaves. The pavillions on each side are taken up for a guard-room of the marine officers on the right-hand, and the arsenal, or *sale d'arms*, on the left. Near which is the academy for teaching young gentlemen the art of navigation ; who are lodged, boarded, and instructed, at the King's expence, to serve as *gardes de la marine* on board his Majesty's ships.

Contiguous to these is another range of buildings, containing the general magazines of the ropes and sails ; and along the south side of the bason are the particular store-houses for the tackling belonging to each man of war, the names to which they belong being marked over every division : besides these, there is what they call *la loge de remplacement*, which, they pretend, contains the duplicates of all their tackling, though they have not half sufficient for the number of ships belonging to this harbour ; since it has been known, that a man of war, after having been put into commission, has been obliged to wait for the return of another, in order to have the stores transferred, before it could be equipped.

There are six small forges destined for the making of locks, keys, and other small materials of iron-work. And twenty forges for the shaping of anchors, &c. though the
N largest

largest are made at Dauphiné near the mines, where also the greatest part of their cannon is cast ; which, being brought hither, are ranged in order in the artillery-park, and the shells and balls piled up in pyramids, in the same manner as they are in the warren at Woolwich, but not in so large a quantity. Near this are the gunsmiths shops for small arms, and a general magazine for hammers, nails, bolts, &c.

The barrels and pipe staves in the cooperage are made mostly of oak brought from Franche Comté and Dauphiné ; and near adjoining are several shops for turning and carving the ornaments for the heads and sterns of the ships ; and a particular office is set apart for drawing their models and designs. Near to their timber-yard a canal is cut, wherein their timber, not in use, and most of their store-masts, are sunk under water for their better preservation. The oak of their own natural produce is brought hither by water-carriage down the Durance and the Rhone, chiefly from Franche Comté and Dauphiné. Here, when we consider, that by the *ordonnance des eaux & forêts* of 1669, the King has a sovereign power over all the wood throughout his kingdom, we might imagine that, at least, he could procure as much as would serve the purpose of the royal navy ; yet there was such a want of it in this dock-yard, just at the conclusion of the war in 1748, that the King was obliged to purchase a large quantity of the Genoeze, from a forest near Varreggio ; and of the ecclesiastical state, from a wood between Civita Vecchia and Rome ; which I saw were used promiscuously with their own in the construction of three large ships then on the stocks, namely, one of 80 guns, to be called the *Foudroyant* ; and two of 74 guns each ; one to be called the *Orphée*, the other the *Temeraire* *.

I have

* These three ships were afterwards taken by us in the late war.

I have before observed, that, in pursuance of the new ordinance for uniting the department of the galleys to the marine, a considerable number of slaves were sent hither from Marseilles. Accordingly, a range of building, on the west side of the park, has been fitted up to serve for the *bagnes*, or lodgings, of these unhappy wretches, who hereafter are to be employed in all the laborious works for the King's service. I have seen a hundred of them at a time employed in drawing large pieces of timber from one end of the yard to the other: these however, when upon such duty, as I observed before, have an extraordinary allowance of 5 sols *per diem* to each.

Amongst other enquiries, I thought it not the least important to be informed, if any English artificers were seduced hither, to be employed in any part of their works; and was assured, from the various methods I took of making my enquiries, that all the shipwrights, carpenters, and workmen belonging to this dock, were natives of France, and chiefly of this province; nor could I find out or hear of any one Englishman employed in this part of the French King's service.

The dock is deep enough, on the west side, to admit of the men of war being hauled up close to the shore, for the conveniency of taking in their tackling and ammunition, as also their fresh water by means of a high cistern, which is supplied from the rivulet in the adjoining plain, and from thence conveyed in tunnels into the butts on board the ships.

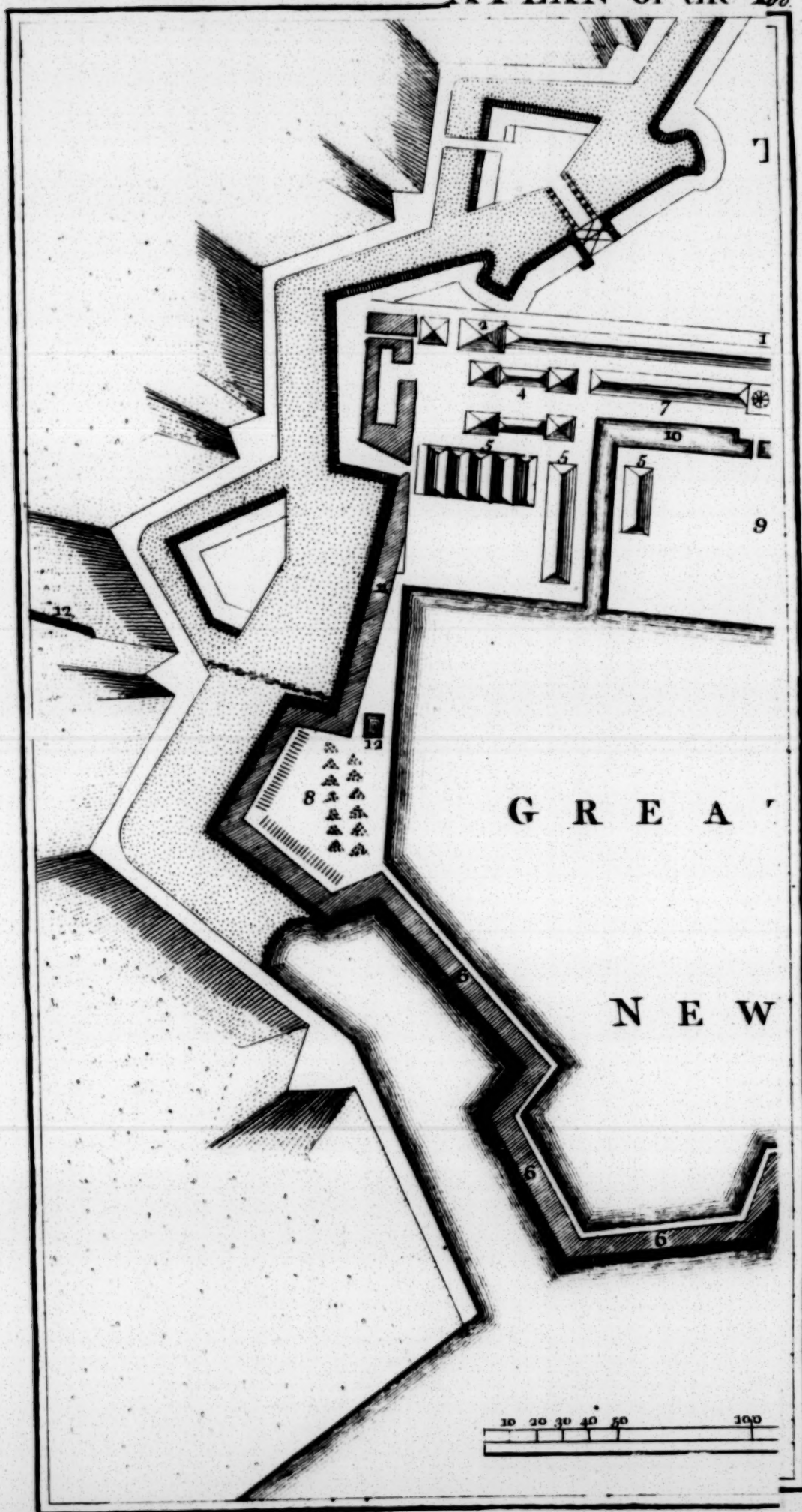
With regard to the number of men of war they are enabled to build in this port, I must observe, that there is space only for three or four of the line to be upon the stocks in one part of the yard, on the west of the inward harbour; and for two

or three frigates in another part fronting south to the basin; though they pretend, that by the removal of some lumber, room can be made for more; so as to have ten ships, that is, five of the line and five frigates upon the stocks at the same time. Not having the conveniency of a tide to help the launch, the want of it is supplied by a machine called an eel, which being cased to the bottom of the ship, is made to slip from the props underneath with great celerity into the water.

Having mentioned the outward and inward harbours, I must explain, that the two points of land, meeting within half a mile of each other at the extremity of the road, forms the outward harbour, which has forts on each side of its entrance, from whence they can occasionally put a chain of masts across from one side to the other. The inward harbour is artificially formed, and enclosed from the outward by a mole, the entrance into which is so narrow, as not to admit of more than one ship at a time, and a chain is laid across every night for greater security. Its exposition is full south, but so land-locked, as to prevent the sight of the road, which winds to the south-east before it opens to the sea; from whence it is said to be the safest navigation of any road in Europe, all the way deep water, without a rock or shoal, quite to the anchoring within the inward harbour.

The plan of the dock-yards and harbours, as sketched on the other side, and the references pointing out the several parts above taken notice of, will I hope sufficiently explain the foregoing description.

A PLAN of the L^o.



A PLAN of the DOCK-YARDS, BASO

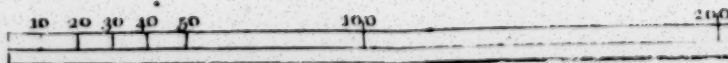
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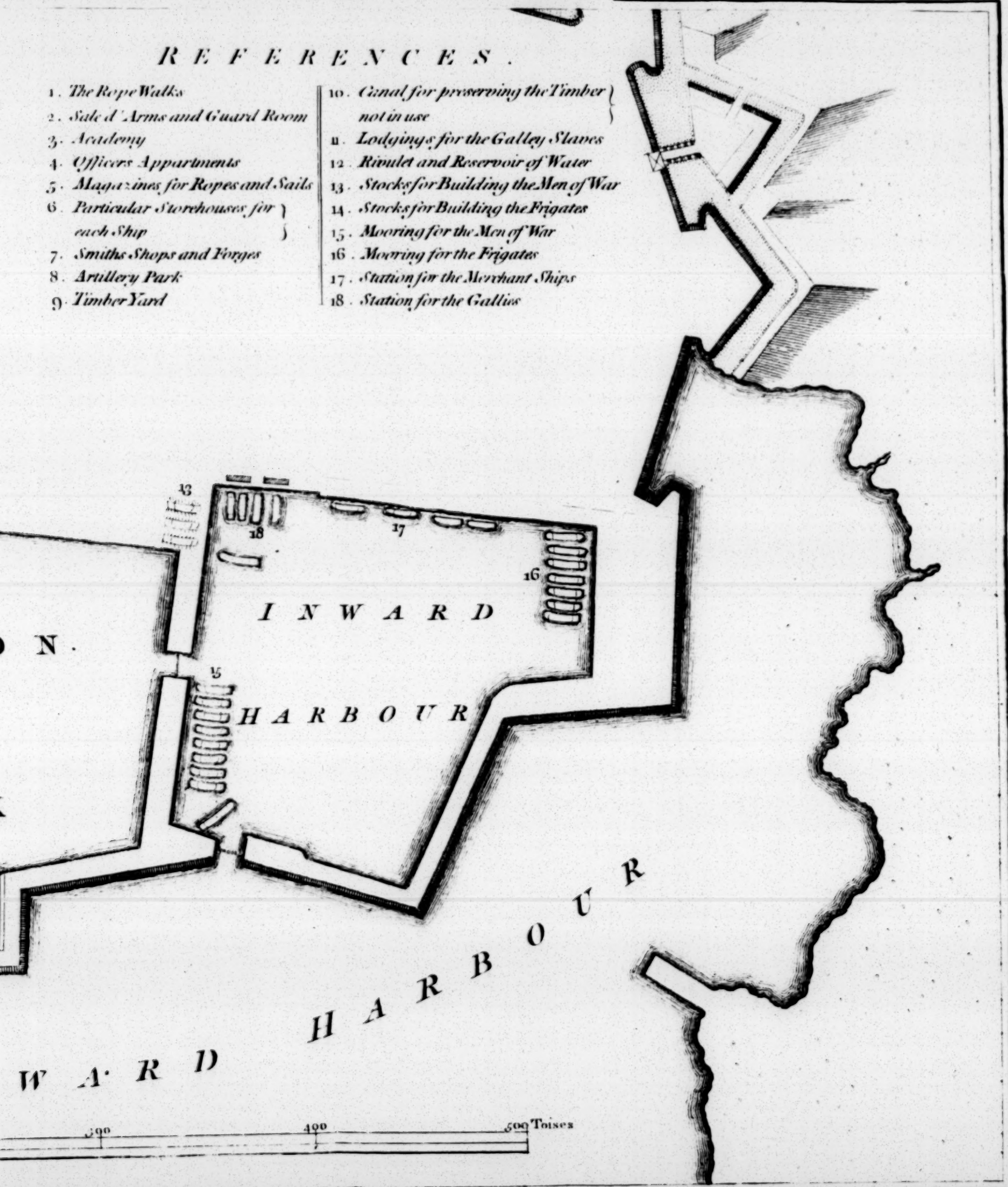
N E W D O C K

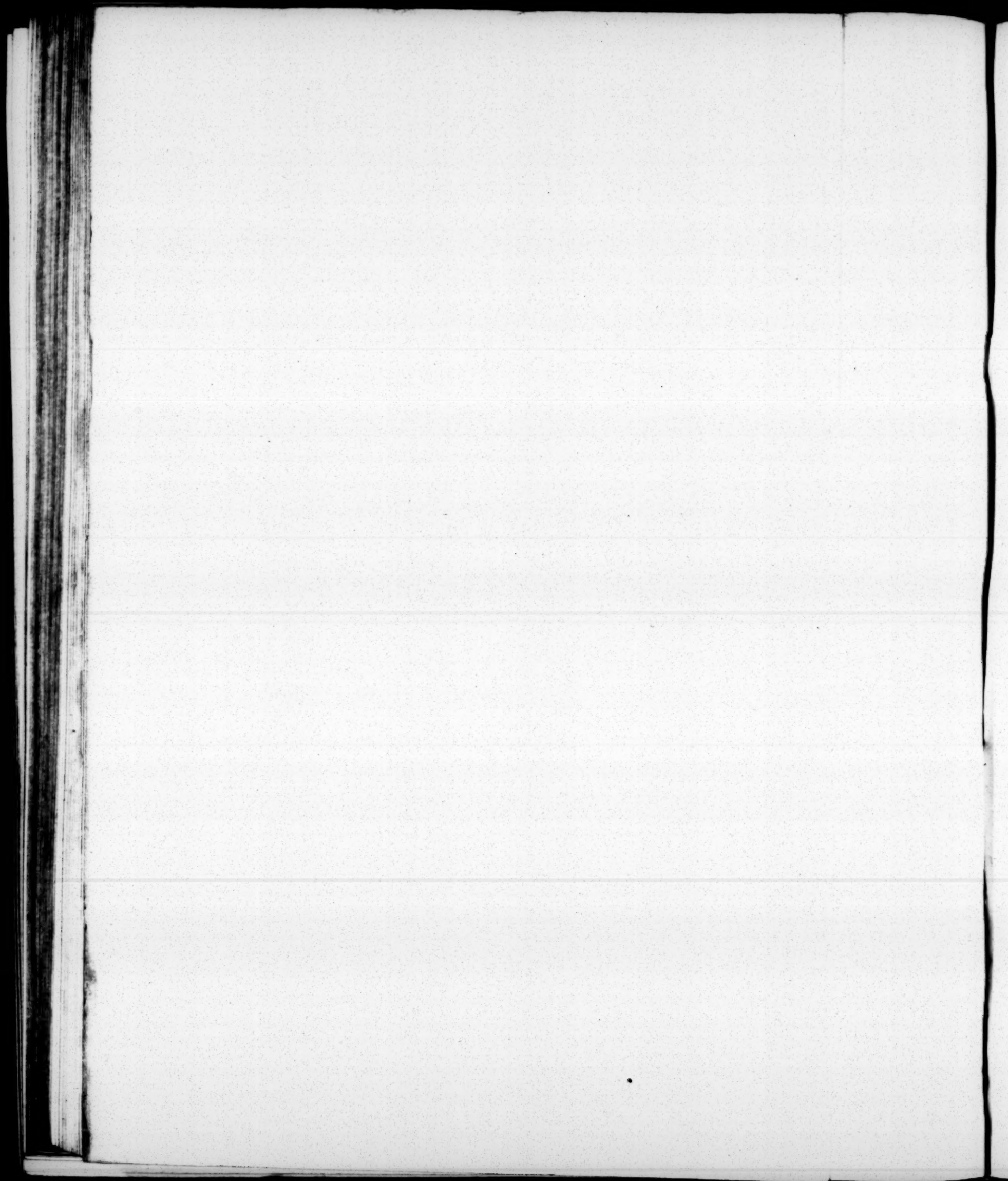
O U T W



REFERENCE.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Rope Walks | 10. Canal for preserving the Timber
not in use |
| 2. Sale d'Arms and Guard Room | 11. Lodgings for the Galley Slaves |
| 3. Academy | 12. Rivulet and Reservoir of Water |
| 4. Officers Apartments | 13. Stocks for Building the Men of War |
| 5. Magazines for Ropes and Sails | 14. Stocks for Building the Frigates |
| 6. Particular Storehouses for
each Ship | 15. Mooring for the Men of War |
| 7. Smiths Shops and Forges | 16. Mooring for the Frigates |
| 8. Artillery Park | 17. Station for the Merchant Ships |
| 9. Timber Yard | 18. Station for the Gallies |





R E M A R K S
ON THE
MARINE of *FRANCE*:

WITH
An A C C O U N T
Of the M E T H O D S of its A D M I N I S T R A T I O N,
At what E X P E N C E it is maintained,

A N D
In what P A R T S, and by what T R A D E S
It is chiefly supported.

*L'Angleterre ne craindra point la France, tant que la Marine Française
ne sera point à craindre.* Auteur Française Anon.



R E M A R K S
O N T H E
M A R I N E of *FRANCE*, &c.

THE administration of the marine of France is deputed to one of the secretaries of state, under the title of minister of the marine; who superintends all the jurisdictions of the admiralty and the police of the ports, established by the ordonnance of 1681; as also the naval armaments and arsenals of the marine, regulated by the ordonnance of 1689. These are the two noted ordonnances, which contain all the rules and regulations, concerning both the civil œconomy, and military execution, by which the naval power of France, was intended to be raised to an equality with its most formidable rivals.

There are four royal ports subservient to this administration, maintained by the King, and destined for the building and equipping the ships of his navy, namely, Toulon, Rochefort, Brest, and Havre de Grace, which have other ports relevant and dependant on them; thus Marseilles is dependant on Toulon; Bayonne on Rochefort; Port Lewis on Brest; and

Dunkirk on Havre de Grace. All the other ports of the kingdom, such as Bourdeaux, la Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo, &c. are called *ports des marchands*.

An intendant of the marine presides at each of the royal ports; who, from time to time, sends up to the minister at Versailles, an account of the state of his dock-yards, what works are going forward, and what stores and munitions are required: and at the end of every year, an estimate of the expence is made out for the ensuing year, by the minister of the marine jointly with the comptroller-general of the finances; under the following articles respectively, viz. Appointments—day-labourers—salaries—armaments and disarmaments—purchase of merchandizes and munitions—hospitals—hire of magazines—and extraordinary expences. Upon each of which, instructions are sent down to the intendants, according to what ships may be necessary to be built, refitted, or equipped; or what stores may be wanting; or regulations necessary to be made: the expences of all which, we may suppose to vary every year, as they must depend on occasional circumstances, and the different exigencies of the state, in times of peace, or of war.

With regard to the original material of timber for building their ships, the King, by the ordonnance *des eaux & forêts* in 1669, assumes the sovereign controul over all the woods and forests of his kingdom; and by the naval ordonnance of 1689, for the better supply of his royal arsenals, every subject of France is forbid to sell any timber on his private estate, without giving previous notice to the intendant of the marine in that department to which he is nearest situated; who must immediately

immediately send commissaries to examine if any be fit for the King's service; and whatever is, or likely to be so, is marked to be taken away, when wanted for the navy, upon payment of a price fixed by two skilful judges on behalf of the King, and on behalf of the owner; yet notwithstanding these rigorous ordonnances, there is such a deficiency of timber, of the native growth of France, as to oblige the commissaries to purchase great quantities from foreign countries, in-somuch that, in the construction of most of their ships lately built, as I have observed at Toulon, they are forced to make use of foreign timber of different countries, and of different species. They are obliged, from the like cause, to have recourse to a foreign supply, for great part of their naval stores; and this chiefly by the interposition of Dutch merchants, and by Dutch navigation; all which materials must consequently be so much the dearer, as they are thus bought and introduced at second-hand.

The number of artificers and hired workmen employed in their yards, depends on the number of ships building at the time. The shipwrights are paid at the rate of 200 livres, or 8 l. *per* month; the carpenters from about eighteen-pence to 3 shillings a day, according to their dexterity; common labourers from one shilling to eighteen-pence a day, besides chips. All these have boys to assist them, who are put apprentices, at the King's expence, to learn and perpetuate the art.

The ships of war are now generally built by private undertakers upon contract; the King to find all the rough materials, the galley slaves to do the laborious work, and after the
artificers

artificers have compleated the whole, according to the model, price and time agreed upon, supervisors attend to examine and measure the work, and make their report.

The King orders by what names his ships shall be called, the emblem of which is carved for its head; thus instead of a lion, which is generally at the head of our men of war, the French have a different figure to each, by which its name is represented; which being discovered at sea, we may find out not only its name, but, by inspecting the list of their navy under the several columns, as in the appendix, discover also its rate, the number of guns and men, when built, and to what port it belongs.

When a ship is put into commission, the King appoints the officers, and at the same time the commissaries of the marine compleat what they call the equipage, by summoning the enrolled seamen, that are classed in their departments, to enter and make up the number wanting to man the ship, according to its rate. To this purpose, all the seafaring men, and even all that are concerned in the inland navigation on the rivers throughout the kingdom, are registered and classed in the several departments of Toulon, Rochfort, and Brest; each of which contain several provinces. For example, Toulon takes in Provence, Languedoc, and Roussillon; Rochfort contains the country of Aunis, Poitou, Gascony, and Biscay; and Brest contains Brittany and Normandy. The registry is made up of the numbers, which every town in these provinces is able to supply; all that are liable to be called upon, being classed, as belonging to one or the other of these departments; the lists of which being too long to be inserted here, I shall
only

only set down the general recapitulation, as it appeared on paper, from the inspection made by the commissaries in 1755, viz. In the department of Toulon 21,700—Rochfort 21,000—Brest 54,300—In all 97,000—But, that we may not conceive too high a notion of the marine of France from such a pompous list of seamen on their registry, we must be cautioned, that amongst these are registered all the ship-carpenters, coopers, and iron smiths employed in the several dock-yards; also all the boatmen, bargemen, floatmen, and fishermen, exercising their trades on the several streams and rivers throughout the interior parts of the kingdom; and lastly, the invalids and superannuated seamen, who, though incapable of service, are kept upon the register. All these being deducted, will take off near one third of the numbers of what they call their classed seamen. The remainder we may suppose to be such fresh and able-bodied seamen as are alternately employed in the King's or merchants service: what their real amount may be, I shall endeavour presently to ascertain.

All, who are thus registered, are deemed as impressed men, and obliged to serve the King when called upon; for which purpose, the commissary not only enters the name and place of abode, but the description of each individual; and whoever keeps out of the way, or neglects to resort immediately to the port and ship to which he is summoned by beat of drum, when afterwards found, is sent to the galleys and confined for life. It appears from hence, that compulsion is used in France as well as in England, for manning their fleets.

Besides

Besides the first division of registered seamen in separate departments, each department is subdivided into several classes, and each class is summoned to serve the King one year in three; at the end of which, they receive a certificate, by way of permit, to go into the merchants service. Such as remain on land, are reviewed twice a year by the commissaries of the class to which they belong: those whose turn it is to be in the King's service, are not chosen or picked men by the captains, but are directed to go on board such ships as the commissaries shall appoint; against whom complaints are often made for receiving pecuniary gratifications, to summon the worst into the King's ships, and reserving the best to serve the merchants.

I must also mention another circumstance attending this method of registering, worthy perhaps of our attention, though I never found it remarked by any writers; I mean, that the ships of these different ports are manned by the seamen registered in each of their departments, who being of different provinces, have different dispositions, and speak a different *patois* or dialect, unintelligible to the others; so that when the Brest and Toulon squadrons meet they join like the allied squadrons of two different nations, and not without some contempt of each other: for these of Toulon assume the merit of being more dextrous at their arms, and the manner of fighting their ships; whilst those at Brest, being used to rougher seas, pique themselves upon their superior agility in navigation.

The department of the galleys, which was formerly separate from that of the men of war, is now united to it by the edict of September 1748, concerning which it is unnecessary to

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add any more to what I have already described in my account of the arsenal of Marseilles, to which I beg leave to refer.

There are likewise a number of marine soldiers, who are, equally with the sailors, under the admiralty jurisdiction, and do not belong to the department of the minister at war, nor are they incorporated into regiments, but divided into companies, and generally put on board in detached parties with officers to command them. Besides these, there are also the *gardes de la marine*, who are young gentlemen of family, educated at the academies established at the three ports of Toulon, Rochfort, and Brest, to be instructed in the naval military art, as well as the art of navigation; and accordingly are taught the exercise of small arms, shooting at a mark, firing the cannon, and all other parts of practical gunnery: they are lodged, boarded and instructed at the King's expence, in convenient buildings erected in the arsenals, and upon vacancies are promoted to be officers on board his Majesty's ships.

The King's monthly pay, to a ship in commission, commences on the day of the last review the commissary of the port makes before the ship is to depart, and ceases on the very day of its return. This pay is settled according to the proportions prescribed by the ordinance of 1689, which, from the first table annexed to it, appears to be, for every captain 300 livres *per* month, lieutenants 100 livres, ensigns, chaplains, surgeons, and purfers, upon an average, 50 livres. All other officers, under the various distinctions of masters, pilots, gunners, and boatswains, from 15 to 20 livres; and as to the common men, divided into able-bodied and fresh seamen, the pay to the first is 15

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livres.

livres, and to the latter only 12 livres *per* month : to which we must add the gratifications to the officers, by way of allowance for their table and servants, which makes the expence of pay to the government much more considerable than what is above specified.

The second table, annexed to the ordonnance, specifies the provisions, rigging, stores and ammunition necessary to each ship in proportion to its rate and number of men ; the prices of which cannot be put down with any certainty, as they vary in different times and in different countries. In England we know, that the whole expence for manning and victualling a King's ship is granted by parliament, at the rate of 4 l. sterling *per* man ; which sum is divided in certain proportions allotted for the pay of the officers and seamen according to their ranks, and for the charge of victualling the ship according to its rate ; in the repartition of which, we find the pay to our officers and seamen double to the French ; besides that the provisions of meat and drink are twice as good ; and the accomodations in general more cleanly and wholesome. These expences, in the French accounts, are set down in separate articles ; and according to their estimates, the victualling and pay, and the wear and tear of ammunition, calculated upon an average, appear to be rather less than ours ; but their first expence of purchasing the materials for building, and the stores for equipping, considerably more : so that the total expence in France under the several articles of appointments, salaries, armaments and disarmaments, purchase of munitions, &c. as mentioned in the beginning, being added to the military pay, and what is called the *etat major*, or civil administration of their marine, exceeds

exceeds the total expence in England in fitting out the same number of ships, according to what is granted by our parliament under the several estimates, for the ordinary of the navy; the building and repairing of ships; and the monthly pay of seamen.

But it is not only the greater expence in fitting out an equal number of ships with England, that prevents France from having an equal armament at sea, but its situation on the continent prevents also an equal opportunity for navigation, which naturally constitutes the maritime power of the British islands. For this reason, the power of France is rather founded on the military establishment of a large body of land forces; a service which also seems most adapted to the genius of their people, especially of the better sort; and accordingly their marine has always been considered only as a secondary object.

It appears from hence, that the advancement of the naval power in France must be chiefly owing to that spirit of trade, and those means of navigation, which the commercial people, residing in their maritime ports, have within this last century been endeavouring to encrease; for, upon the whole, a power at sea can only depend on the encrease of seamen, and the encrease of seamen upon the encrease of navigation.

This may lead us to examine how far the navigation of France, and consequently its naval power, may be extended; and how far, and in what parts, we should endeavour, agreeably to the design of my former representations, to weaken that power, or at least to restrain it from encreasing.

In entering upon this examination, we may observe, that as neither the spirit of the French government, nor the methods

of its administration are favourable to their marine, so neither doth that branch of their trade, which is carried on to the other parts of Europe, contribute much to its support. For although commerce is generally mentioned as the support of a naval power, yet it must mean such a commerce as is carried on by a navigation at sea. But we are to consider, that great share of the products and manufactures of France are conveyed into the interior parts of the continent by inland carriage; and that what is demanded by her maritime neighbours, is fetched away upon the foreign bottoms of those ships, each nation sends thither to purchase them. The situation likewise of their country, intersected as it is by other dominions, admits of little opportunity of a coasting-trade, the first introduction and great nursery of young seamen; and this has been rendered yet the less necessary, by the many canals which have been cut to make a communication from one sea to the other, through the inland parts of the kingdom.

Yet, notwithstanding all these obstacles, their naval history will inform us of very considerable armaments they have equiped at different times. Witness the great fleets Lewis the XIVth sent out in the latter part of the last century, whilst he had at the same time an immense army at land to oppose the united force of almost all the powers of Europe. But this violent effort, like strength when it is overstrained, was the cause of its being afterwards the more weakened; for from thence their revenues being exhausted, and their trade ruined, their marine declined in proportion so low, that in the year 1720, they had scarce 20 ships of the line fit for service; but from that period to 1744, during the long continuance of a peace, they revived their

their trade, and increased their navigation to such a degree, as to threaten meeting us at sea with a powerful armament. This was in some measure checked by the captures we made during the four years of the last war, yet in the subsequent interval of peace, being left in the free enjoyment of those trades on which their navigation depended, they had so far recruited their naval force, that at the beginning of the war in 1756, it appeared no less formidable than it was at the beginning of the war in 1744. Since therefore we have been provoked by fresh renewals of hostilities, let it now be the principal object of our opposition, to weaken the means of their naval power; I mean, by annoying those trades by which their navigation has been chiefly promoted, and by which only it can be recruited and enlarged.

To this purpose, it will be necessary to examine the present state of their naval force, according to the number of the King's ships belonging to the several royal ports of the kingdom, of which I procured a list taken a little time before the commencement of the war in 1756; and as this contains an account of their names, rates, when and where built and refitted; and of their quantity of cannon, weight of metal, and number of men, I have annexed it at the end, by way of appendix, that so long a detail might not interrupt what I propose to be considered from the following observations. To introduce which, I must however beg leave to state a recapitulation, of the number of ships and of the men, as followeth.

Ships.

	Ships.		N ^o of men.
First rates	—	6 —	5600
Second rates	—	22 —	16500
Third rates	—	29 —	16820
Fourth rates	—	9 —	3600
<hr/>			<hr/>
Total of line of battle	66		42520
Frigates	—	23 —	5050
Flutes and store ships	7	—	2000
Chebecques	—	4 —	600
Advice-boats	—	3	} — 500
Bomb-ketch	—	1	
Sloops	—	9	
<hr/>			<hr/>
Total number of all	113		50690

I have not added the crews of the several galleys, since they are not to be considered as seamen, and since, by the late change made in that department, they are to be employed for the future only in the dock-yards, and not out at sea.

But let us remark, that this account, given on paper, of the present state of their navy, like all other accounts the French give of their own strength and riches, is greatly exaggerated: for we shall find upon enquiry, that many of their ships, whose names appear on the list, are through age and decay, unfit for service; that the naval stores in their arsenals are insufficient for even the number of ships that are fit for service; and that lastly, whatever number of ships they may be able to equip, great part of them must remain inactive, like empty hulks,

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in their harbours, for want of a sufficient number of seamen to put them into motion. For though the King may build ships, he cannot build seamen: these can only be made by being employed in navigation, and consequently the number of their able-bodied seamen will be no more, than what will answer to the proportion of their navigation.

To judge of this proportion, I must refer to the account, which I have also procured, of the number, the tonnage and the destination of all the merchant ships, with the number of their seamen, and in what trades they are employed. This I have annexed in the appendix, next after the list of the King's ships, and from whence it appears, that the number of seamen employed in their several branches of commerce amount to 46488. All these being registered and divided into several classes, as I observed before, are summoned to serve alternately, one year in three, on board his Majesty's ships; and if there were no other seamen to supply their place on board the merchants ships, the consequence would be a stop to one third of their commerce; but we must suppose that the navigation of the King's ships, employed in cruising, or in exercising their marine, or in protecting their colonies, breed up and employ an additional number of sailors, equal at least to one third of what are employed by the merchants; which third amounting to 15496, being added to the 46488, will make the total number to be 61984 of fresh and able-bodied seamen, to serve in the King's navy, and the merchants ships: or if the King should demand them all, and put a total stop to trade, would be sufficient to man his fleet, supposing it to be as large as above stated: especially as each of the King's ships takes on
board

board a number of men out of the independant companies of the marines to compleat the equipage according to its rate.

Let us now examine from what branches of commerce so large a number of seamen are chiefly raised : this has been the main object of my enquiries concerning the state of their marine ; in which it will appear, from the following observations, that the navigation of France owes its advancement to those branches of commerce, which are carried on by long sea voyages to the remote parts of the world ; and that amongst these, it is chiefly supported by their Mediterranean trade, by their sugar islands in the West Indies, and by their Northern fisheries in America.

This points out to us, that in the prosecution of a war with France, we should exert our naval strength, chiefly to annoy these three branches of their commerce. To which purpose I have endeavoured to describe, in my foregoing representations, how far their southern maritime provinces, and the two principal sea ports of Marseilles and Toulon, may be distressed by the destination and proper disposition of our fleet in the Mediterranean ; and now beg leave farther to add a few remarks on the expediency of another destination of our fleet, to attack their western islands, and northern fisheries in America : for since this war has been kindled in those more distant parts of the world, which are the next chief resources of their naval power, we should there principally exert our naval strength, from whence the conquest will be more easy, and our acquisitions of infinite more importance to the trade and navigation of Old England, than any other we may hope for on the continent of America.

I do not mean by this to depreciate the merit of any intended enterprizes on land, against either Canada or any of the forts the French have erected to support their unjustifiable pretensions, with regard to the limits of the interior parts of our settlements, as well as to the antient limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia *. The French ministry had warning given them, that if they would not submit these disputes to be decided by an amicable negociation, they might expect a more disagreeable method of decision. Accordingly, by their persisting in the most trifling chicaneries, to elude the arguments and proofs offered in support of his Majesty's right, they gave the first occasion to the war; and we are now justified in endeavouring to decide the limits on both sides, by taking the whole into our possession; and should we, by the perseverance and courage of our troops, now preparing to be sent thither, procure the dominion of all the districts so long disputed, our subjects in those parts will then be free from the apprehensions of being any more alarmed by French encroachments, or scalping Indians.

This end being obtained, we are not to hope for any farther beneficial consequences, with respect to trade in those interior parts, there being none that would answer the expence of procuring it; and as to the navigation that may be expected

* See the memorials of the English and French commissaries, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, printed in 1755; as also a pamphlet published at the same time by the Author of this treatise, entitled, A fair representation of his Majesty's right, briefly stated, with an answer to the objections contained in a French treatise, entitled, *Discussion sommaire sur les Anciennes limites de l'Acadie*.

from thence, it is so inconsiderable, that I never could find more than seven ships had been loaded in any one year, with merchandize, between Old France and Quebec. I desire to be understood, not to include the ships that are bound to the West Indies, who sometimes call at Louisbourg and Quebec, to exchange part of their ladings for lumber, with which they make a trading voyage to the western islands, and bring back their cargoes of sugar to Europe; for these are more properly to be numbered in the list of the West India ships, and not as ships employed in the direct trade between Old France and Canada. It is surprising, when we consider the superior advantages the English enjoy from their situation on the maritime coasts of the same continent, that they should be tempted to penetrate into the more inland parts, to which the French have been driven by necessity; and who are not to be envied, for the small profits they acquire by the fur and peleterie trade, called by themselves *le petit commerce*; in which their hunters, who go under the denomination of *coueurs de bois*; often find their passage obstructed by woods and rocks, rapid currents, and savage Indians. To prevent therefore our subjects from wandering into such inhospitable districts, I beg leave to mention a policy enforced by the government of France, which may be worthy of our imitation; I mean the orders that are sent to the intendants of their provinces, and the commandants of every fort in Canada and Louisiana, not to suffer any new habitations, as the French settlements are called, so far distant from their respective capitals, as to be out of the reach of their protection. If our settlers therefore could be thus restrained to live more united, and nearer to the
maritime

maritime coasts, it would add more strength to the government of our colonies, and prevent the hazard of those frequent broils we hear of, between them and the inland Indian nations.

I now return to point out the greater importance of extending our enterprizes against the French sugar islands, as they are more immediately our rivals, not only by the enlargement of their trade, but also by the increase of their navigation. And as this is the only foundation of a naval power, so it is that power only, by which France can be formidable to England. Now the French navigation has been encreased by these islands, to such a degree, as ought to alarm us much more than any encroachments their settlers have made on the continent of America. By the accounts I have seen of the difference, within these twenty years past, of the tonnage, as well as of the number of ships, belonging to Martinique and St. Domingue, both have amounted to more than double what they were in 1730; the number of ships and sailors, and quantity of tonnage they employed, just before the war broke out, being as follows: To Martinique, Guadaloupe, and other islands in the Antilles, 129 ships, 30,000 tons, and 3875 men; To St. Dominigue 207 ships, 40,000 tons, and 5175 men; in all, 336 ships, 70,000 tons, and 9050 men. Each of these ships moreover is obliged every voyage it makes outwards, to take in a number of green men, as the fresh landmen are called, to make an additional encrease of seamen. Judge from hence, how necessary it may be to stop the progress of that power, which we are now able to destroy by our present superior strength at sea: that the conquest also of some of these islands, not proper to be mentioned here by name.

would not be difficult, I will presume to suggest, from the little opposition that will be made by the natives, on account of their discontent under the present administration of the French government; as they think themselves greatly oppressed by some severe edicts lately sent over, for encreasing the ferm of the *domaine d'occident*, and by several military ordinances, which they conceive have thrown too great a power into the hands of the commandants; for as the constitution of France is military, so every system, even trade itself, is subservient to a military power.

Here it may be necessary to explain, that as all the French possessions in America are under the department of the marine, so even their military government there is under the same; consequently, all the soldiers sent thither, either for the defence of the continent, or the islands, not being enlisted, nor taking their commissions, as regulars, from the secretary at war, no private men are sent to serve in this inferior establishment, but such as have been refused for the land service; and indeed the supply is generally made up of such vagabonds and miserable naked beggars, as the magistrates consign over to the commissaries of the marine to be transported; the King allowing only 30 livres, for the taking up and transporting each man: nor do they receive any pay, nor even cloathing, until they arrive at the port of their destination; where they are supplied out of the common military stock; and being usually shut up in their passage, like so many felons, they often become pestilential, and sometimes more than half perish before their arrival.

Such forces as these are sent, and can only be sent, according to the present French system, for the assistance of their colonies in America; whose natives therefore are obliged to raise a militia for their better defence, and from whom, especially from the island planters, I have before suggested, we need not apprehend much resistance. But notwithstanding this has been the usual and antient system of the departments in the French ministry, yet, just before the war was declared, the King was obliged to change it, and to order a body of regular land forces to go over to protect Louisbourg and Canada, which it was imagined we intended to attack. This at first occasioned some discontent in the army, several officers declaring they did not think it derogatory to their honour to refuse being put under the marine department, as they had taken their commissions to serve on land in Europe only. However, these discontents were in some measure appeased, by appointing chiefly Swiss regiments, with a foreign commander; and such of the French officers, as agreed to go, were advanced both in their pay and rank. Part of these forces were taken in June 1755 in the Alcide and Lys French men of war near Newfoundland, by the Dunkirk and Defiance, being part of admiral Boscawen's squadron, sailing at that time to the coast of North America, to secure his Majesty's just rights in those parts.

These hostilities being began before the war, occasioned soon after an open declaration*, which has been followed by the reduction of Port Royal, and the island of Louisbourg. This in the end will prove the more important to us, if hereby we

* May 18, 1756.

assume those rights of fishery in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, which had been yielded to the French by former treaties. This fishery, together with that on the banks of Newfoundland, I have before numbered, amongst the chief nurseries for their seamen, and the encrease of their naval power; more especially as the French have adopted the principle in our act of navigation, of enjoining, that all their ships should be manned by at least two-thirds of the natives of their own kingdom, and that there should be a certain number of novices taken on board each ship, in proportion to its burthen, on every new trip they should make to these seas; where the weather being usually tempestuous, proves to be the best voyage for the breed of sailors, as it teaches them to be skillful, and enures them to be hardy. The fishery in these parts is divided into two branches, namely, the dry cod, and the green, or what we call the mud fishery. The ships employed in this latter branch, on the banks of Newfoundland, are generally from 50 to 150 tons, and carry from 12 to 25 men each, with the addition of two novices in every season. The fish carried to the stages erected in that part of Newfoundland, which was allotted them, for that purpose, by the treaty of Utrecht, to be there dried, and which therefore goes under the name of their dry fishery, employs ships of a larger burthen, viz. from 120 to 350 tons, who carry from 45 to 120 men in each. The ports, from whence they usually set out, are from St. Maloes, Cherbourg, Grandville, Morlaix, Brest, Nantes, Oloune, Rochelle, Marfeilles, &c. These have long continued in an emulation for carrying on the several branches of the trade as abovementioned, which general competition, though it may
have

have occasioned a decrease in some ports, yet, upon the whole, it has greatly enlarged both the trade and navigation. For example, all these northern fisheries, in 1730, employed only 296 ships, 26007 tons, and 7489 men; whereas the following is the present state of their numbers, adding what are employed from Cape Breton, Gaspaye, and on the coasts of Labrador; which are vessels from 50 to 100 tons, and about 25 men to each, viz.

	Ships	Tons.	Men.
Mud fishery — — —	190	19000	3420
Dry Cod — — —	140	35000	11200
Cape Breton fishery — —	75	5625	1350
	<u>405</u>	<u>59625</u>	<u>15970</u>

I must now refer to the sum total of all the French commercial ships, the quantity of their tonnage, and number of seamen employed in the several parts of the world; which in N^o 2. of the appendix, we find amounts to 2301 ships, carrying 244540 tons, and 46488 seamen. If from hence we abstract those that are employed in the three branches of trade, which I have mentioned as objects of our opposition, namely, the trade in the Mediterranean; the sugar islands; and the fisheries in America; they amount to 1513 ships, carrying 186457 tons, and 34304 seamen; which comprehend about two thirds of all the trade and navigation of France. Judge therefore the advantages we may gain by exerting our strength at sea, in a vigorous opposition to these three principal branches of their naval power; for although a dispute about the

the limits of some inland territories might have been the cause of the war, yet to lessen their marine should be our constant object: by doing this, we shall obtain justice in the other. To a maritime and trading kingdom, extent of land will be of no farther advantage than as it may contribute to the extent of trade. Upon these considerations, I may venture to lay it down as a true system of British policy, never to enter into disputes with France, where trade is not concerned; nor even to attempt the procuring of trades, where no shipping is employed. The French continental trades cannot therefore be so much the object of our jealousy, as those mentioned above, which employ a large navigation, and consequently encrease and strengthen the naval power of France.

Upon the whole, it must be an additional pleasure to an Englishman, whilst he is informed of the methods of weakening his enemy's force at sea, to reflect how effectually we may do it by the superior strength of our own naval power; a superiority acquired by the principles enforced by our act of navigation; by our fisheries and coasting-trade; by our islands and plantations; and even by our colonies on the continent of America bordering on the seas: all which promote so vast a navigation, as to enable us to be the carriers for others, even where we have no trade ourselves. So that whilst France has a commerce more extensive than its navigation, England appears to have a navigation more extensive than its commerce. From hence we are provided with sailors to man our navy, without interrupting the course of trade; whereas, the French, if they carry on a trade, must lay-by their fleet; or, if they send out their fleet, they must lay-by their trade. Let us therefore

fore maintain our present superiority at sea, by exerting our strength only upon that element where we are superior. Let us particularly avail ourselves of it in those parts, from whence France is most likely to form its naval power; which, if not kept down and depressed, may in time become a formidable rival to our own. By thus attacking our enemy on the weak side, or where the power of our enemy may be weakened, according to the maxim I set out with in my former representation, we may acquire the most considerable advantage to our commerce and marine; an advantage, which, by the blessing of God, if we are not wanting to ourselves, we are the more likely to procure, as the natural strength of England, properly exerted by sea, and singly opposed to the single power of France, has always maintained the superior dominion.

F I N I S.

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N° 1.

A list of the King's ships belonging to France, before the declaration of war in 1756.

First Rates.

Men and guns as under specified— lower tire 36— upper 24 pounders.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Brest	Le Soleil Royal	90	1000	1749
Ditto	Le Formidable	90	1000	1749
Ditto	Le duc de Bourgogne	84	900	1751
Ditto	Le Ocean	84	900	1752
Toulon	Le Foudroyant	84	900	1749
Ditto	Le Tonant	84	900	1740

Second Rates.

Men 750— Guns 74— lower tire 36— upper 18 pounders.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Brest — — —	Le Magnifique — — —	1745
Ditto — — —	Le Courageux — — —	1752
Ditto — — —	Le Heros — — —	1752
Ditto — — —	Le Dauphin — — —	1735—1749
Ditto — — —	Le Palmier — — —	1752
Ditto — — —	Le Superbe — — —	1736—1747
Ditto — — —	L'Esperance — — —	1724—1747
Ditto — — —	L'Entreprenant — — —	1751
Ditto — — —	Le Defenseur — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	Le Sceptre — — —	1747
Ditto — — —	Le Couronne — — —	1748

Brest

Second Rates continued.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Brest — — —	L'Algonquin — — —	1752 Quebec
Toulon — — —	L'Intrepide — — —	1745
Ditto — — —	Le Conquerant — — —	1745
Ditto — — —	Le Ferme — — —	1723—1752
Ditto — — —	Le Temeraire — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	Le Redoutable — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	L'Hector — — —	1752
Ditto — — —	Le Guerrier — — —	1751
Rochfort — — —	Le Prudent — — —	1751
Ditto — — —	Le Fleurissant — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	Le Juste — — —	1751

Third Rates.

Men 580 — — — Guns 64 — — — lower tire 24 — — — upper 12 pounds.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Brest — — —	Le Protée — — —	1747
Ditto — — —	Le Lys — — —	1746
Ditto — — —	Le Dragon — — —	1746
Ditto — — —	L'Illustre — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	L'Actif — — —	1752
Ditto — — —	Le Bizare — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	Le Leopard — — —	1747
Ditto — — —	Le St. Michel — — —	1738—1751
Ditto — — —	L'Amphion — — —	1749
Ditto — — —	Le Bienfaissant — — —	1748
Ditto — — —	Le fleuve de St. Laurent — — —	1748

Third Rates continued.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Toulon — — —	L'Alcide — — —	1743
Ditto — — —	L'Heureux — — —	1727
Ditto — — —	Le Content — — —	1748
Ditto — — —	Le Triton — — —	1748
Ditto — — —	L'Achille — — —	1748
Ditto — — —	L'Oriflame — — —	1745
Ditto — — —	Le Fier — — —	1745
Ditto — — —	L'Hercule — — —	1749
Ditto — — —	L'Orphée — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	Le Lion — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	Le Sage — — —	1750
Rechfort — — —	{ Le Northumberland, English, taken — — — }	1744—1752
Ditto — — —	L'Opiniatre — — —	1750
Ditto — — —	L'Hardi — — —	1751
Ditto — — —	Le Capricieux — — —	1751
Ditto — — —	L'Inflexible — — —	1751
Ditto — — —	L'Eveille — — —	1751
Ditto — — —	L'Aigle — — —	1751

Fourth Rates.

Men and guns as under specified— lower tire 18— upper tire 8 pounders.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Brest	L'Arc en Ciel — —	50	420	1746
Ditto	L'Aquilon — —	50	420	1731—1751

Brest

Fourth Rates continued.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Brest — —	{ L'Anglesea, Eng. taken }	50	420	1744—1751
Ditto — —	La Favourite	46	300	1748
Toulon — —	L'Alcyon	50	420	1731—1751
Ditto — —	Le Tigre	56	420	1726—1748
Ditto — —	L'hippopotame	54	430	1750
Rochfort — —	L'Apollon	58	420	1750—1751
Havre de Grace	La Junon	54	350	1747

Fregates.

<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Brest — —	La Sirene	30	230	1745
Ditto — —	La Comete	26	220	1752
Ditto — —	{ Le Marechal de Saxe — }	22	220	1752
Ditto — —	L'Heroine	26	220	1752
Toulon — —	La Volage	32	240	1729
Ditto — —	La Rose	24	240	— 1752
Ditto — —	La Pomone	32	240	1750
Ditto — —	La Flore	30	220	1749
Ditto — —	La Gracieuse	26	220	1750
Ditto — —	La Diane	36	250	1751
Rochfort — —	L'Altalanta	36	250	1742
Ditto — —	Le Zephyre	36	250	1730
Ditto — —	La Fidele	22	200	1748

Rochfort

Frigates continued.

<i>Ports.</i>		<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>When built or refitted.</i>
Rochfort	—	L'Hermione	24	200	1749
Ditto	—	— La Friponne	22	200	1745
Ditto	—	— La Marthe	22	200	1746
Ditto	—	— La Nymphe	22	200	1751
Havre de Grace		L'Emiraude	32	240	1745
Ditto	—	— La Mutine	26	220	1745
Ditto	—	— La Galathée	24	190	1745
Ditto	—	— La Topase	26	220	1750
Ditto	—	— La Thetis	26	220	1750
Ditto	—	{ Le Cumberland, Eng. taken — }	22	160	1747

Flutes or Storeships.

<i>Ports.</i>		<i>Ships names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>When built.</i>
Brest	—	— Le Chariot Royal	36	350	1719
Ditto	—	— La Loire	48	350	1719
Ditto	—	— Le Rhinoceros	10	200	1750
Ditto	—	— Le Camelion	18	250	1751
Ditto	—	— L'Anna Sophia	22	250	—
Ditto	—	— Le Parham	22	250	—
Toulon	—	— La Seine	48	350	1719

Cbebecques

Chebecques.

	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>When buik.</i>
————	L'Indiscret	24	180	1751
————	Le Requin	24	180	1751
————	Le Serpent	18	160	1751
————	Le Rusé	18	160	1751

Advice Boats.

L'Amaranthe	12	120	1747
L'Anemone	12	120	1747
La Badine	6	60	1745

One Bomb Ketch

La Tempête	6	1725
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Sloops.

La Palombe
 La Pintade
 La Fauvete
 La Dorade
 L'Esturgeon
 La Marne
 La Macreuse
 La Marie Magdeleine
 La Sirene du Nord

Galleys.

L'Amazone
 La Reine
 La Dauphine
 La Brave
 L'Ambitieuse
 L'Eclatante
 La Ferme
 L'Heroine
 La Fortune
 La Duchesse
 La Hardie
 La Valeur

Recapitulation.

Recapitulation.

First Rates	—	—	6
Second	—	—	22
Third	—	—	29
Fourth	—	—	9
			—

66 Ships of the Line.

Frigates	—	—	23
Flutes	—	—	7
Chebecques	—	—	4
Advice Boats	—	—	3
Bomb Ketch	—	—	1
Sloops	—	—	9
			—

113

Galleys	—	—	12
			—

Total — 125

An Account of the number of French merchant ships, in what trades they are employed, with their tonnage and number of seamen—viz.

In what trades.	N ^o of ships.	Tonnage.	N ^o of men.
The American Islands —	336	70000	9050
Louisiana —	4	900	144
Canada —	7	980	198
Mediterranean, Levant, &c. —	772	59832	9284
Spain —	289	18268	2962
Portugal —	32	3297	436
Barbary —	56	2750	485
Holland —	69	5015	571
Great Britain and Ireland —	54	1982	206
The North —	25	1760	234
Senegal —	7	1020	217
Guinea —	11	1780	518
East Indies —	12	6010	1454
Flanders —	12	682	101
Fisheries in North America, and on the bank of New- foundland —	405	59625	15970
Herring fishery —	181	4824	3124
Whale fishery —	29	5815	1534
	<hr/> 2301	<hr/> 244540	<hr/> 46488



THE
LAWS and POLICY
of ENGLAND,
Relating to TRADE,

EXAMINED
By the MAXIMS and PRINCIPLES
OF
TRADE in general;
AND
By the LAWS and POLICY
OF
Other TRADING Nations.

BY
The AUTHOR of the TREATISE
ON
The POLICE of *France*, &c.

L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by T. HARRISON, in Warwick-Lane; and by
J. ROBSON, in New Bond-Street,

MDCCLXV.



T H E I N T R O D U C T I O N .



NATION cannot be safe without POWER; POWER cannot be obtained without RICHES; nor RICHES without TRADE.

TRADE takes its rise from numbers of people employed in cultivating and improving the first productions of nature, for common use and conveniency; from whence all nations, according to their skill and industry, and the different effects of their soil and climate, endeavour to support their own interest, by mutually supplying each other with what the one wants, and the other has in too great abundance: and when the value of what is exported and sold abroad, is greater than the value of what is imported and consumed at home, the difference upon the balance must be returned in money; the circulation of which, and the employment of the people, jointly compose the NATIONAL WEALTH of every country.

An encrease of *national wealth* may be procured, by enforcing such laws as are most agreeable to the MAXIMS and PRINCIPLES, which govern the true interest of TRADE; such, I mean, as can conveniently be put in execution, with regard to the exigencies of our own government; the state of foreign affairs; and the different interests of each independent kingdom.

These MAXIMS of TRADE, in which all nations must be supposed to agree, those in particular are best enabled to put into practice, who have the advantage of situation, soil, multitude of inhabitants, and conveniencies for shipping and navigation.

If then, amidst such opportunities, we have in any measure failed of the success which might be expected from them, it must be imputed to some deficiency in our own laws and regulations, or to some better policy used by other rival nations: therefore, by considering and comparing these together, we may possibly acquire a greater skill to improve our natural advantages, and proportionably encrease the RICHES, POWER, and SECURITY of our own kingdom. In this view I thought it would not prove an unuseful application of my time and study, to examine

The Laws and Policy of England relating to Trade,

B Y

The Maxims and Principles of Trade in General;

A N D B Y

The Laws and Policy of other Trading Nations.

Numbers

Numbers of people being the strength of a nation and their skill and industry the foundation of its riches ; to promote their ENCREASE, and procure means for their EMPLOYMENT, must be the chief maxim of every government.

ENCREASE of inhabitants is first of all to be considered, as not only arising from the natural means of propagation, but from all those collateral aids, which may best support the natives at home, and invite an additional number from foreign countries : such as rendering our situations healthful ; encouraging all the degrees of our people to marry ; providing means for their sustenance ; and, in general, promoting their peace and welfare, under the enjoyment of all the RELIGIOUS and CIVIL LIBERTIES of mankind.

RELIGION being the principal concern, the encrease of people will principally depend on the excellency of its institution ; and herein, by reflecting how far the particular religion of each country has an influence on the temporal concerns of its inhabitants, we may easily prove, that the church of Rome, by the variety of its fasts and festivals, and other superstitious ceremonies, must greatly obstruct the labour, the wealth, and even the augmentation of the people ; and this more particularly by the numerous foundations of its Monastic orders, in which so many thousands make a merit of living in a state of celibacy, without yielding any social benefit to the present generation, or leaving children towards the encrease of the future : whereas the Protestant religion is founded on a more liberal system, not only in point of conscience, but with respect to the freedom of commerce, since it neither engrosses so much of the people's time from following their worldly occupations

occupations, nor is it supported by so large a share of revenues raised out of their private income; add to this, that our clergy, by marrying, become more allied to the laity, and, by the happy union which subsists between church and state, they are jointly and mutually interested to support each other.

But whatever may be the established church of any state, *Liberty of Conscience* must be tolerated to all, since there cannot be a worse, nor more sure method of depopulating a country, than persecution on account of difference in religion. This kind of impolitick zeal, we know, formerly forced many of our natives from hence, whose descendants are now the people and riches of another nation, the loss of whom would have been more sensibly felt by us, had we not received amends by the supply of foreign subjects flying from the severer bigotry of our more oppressive neighbours.

INCREASE OF PEOPLE is next to be promoted by an equal mildness in the CIVIL GOVERNMENT; if justice be duly administered by an impartial execution of the laws, and no laws passed without the consent of those who are to be bound by them; if the distinct powers and separate jurisdictions are controuled by mutual dependencies on each other, and the supream power of all exerted only towards the interest of the whole: if, consequently, all orders and degrees of men remain undisturbed in the possession of their natural rights and legal properties, the inhabitants will encrease under the protection of such a government, and the government will grow powerful by such an encrease of inhabitants.

Numbers of people being thus invited to settle together, the next care must be to procure means for their subsistence, by
indulging

indulging them in the FREE EXERCISE of all TRADES and EMPLOYMENTS; it being the plainest maxim of reason, that they who are allowed the liberty of living in a country, should have an equal liberty of using the lawful means of livelihood. This open privilege, for all men to buy and sell, to exchange and barter, both at home and abroad, was the first foundation of every trading commonwealth, whose histories will inform us, that whilst freedom of traffick was universally permitted, their people were numerous and laborious: But when restraints and prohibitions began to be introduced, they soon became remarkable both for the scarcity, and laziness of their inhabitants: for national supineness is not to be attributed either to temper or climate, but rather to those restrictions upon commerce, which arise from grants of monopolies, exclusive rights, local privileges, and such like unnatural distinctions amongst the inhabitants, whereby many are forced into a habit of idleness, merely from the want of a freedom to become industrious. And from hence we may account for the different dispositions, as well as for the unequal distribution, of the people throughout the world. Let this therefore teach us, to establish it as a Maxim of our Policy, to encourage all persons, of what calling or persuasion, or of what nation soever, to set up and carry on any Trade or Business, not contrary to good morals, nor hurtful to the community, without hindrance or disturbance for the want of pretended legal qualifications. To this end, many of our antient statutes ordained, That merchants, strangers, and aliens, as well as Denizens, should have their safe and sure conduct, to come in
and

and tarry, and depart the kingdom, and to buy and sell in gross and retail, without molestation. And this FREEDOM of COMMERCE was our original right by the common law of England, which is said to abhor all restrictions on Trade, whereby men may be debarred from the exercise of any employment not prejudicial to the commonwealth.

PROTECTION in the last place must be granted to the properties, which the people may so acquire by their industry; for men will be but little anxious towards the pursuit of riches, if they cannot be secure in the possession of them. At the same time, it is the duty of every individual to pay towards the expence of that protection, since a contribution from each, for the maintenance of the whole, is what every government has a right to demand; but then again, it is equally the duty of every administration to be careful, that the public demands be not greater than what the common necessities may justly require, and the people easily spare out of their private acquisitions. It is the number of the publick revenues, and the methods by which they are collected, that compose the distinguishing marks of every constitution; the fewer and less burthensome they are, the more contented will the natives be to abide in their own country; and greater will be the temptation for strangers to desire a residence in it. Since therefore, the happy distinction of our government consists in not being subject to any impositions but what we raise upon ourselves; it would still be more happy for us, to be distinguished by being under a less necessity of raising them.

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May this be the glory of our administration, upon the credit of which, the encrease of people and prosperity of Trade do so much depend. And whilst persecution, and the cruel use of arbitrary power, shall chase away the industrious subjects from other kingdoms, be it our policy to receive and indulge them in liberty of conscience, the free exercise of Trade, and the easy enjoyment of their properties, secured to them and their posterity, under the publick sanction of our laws and government!

LIBERTY, ENCOURAGEMENT, and PROTECTION, are thus in general the great conducive means towards the augmentation of a people, whose value must be afterwards determined by the profits of their labour, and the products they consume; every acquisition of an inhabitant being computed as so much additional wealth, if he helps to advance the national stock, or pays for its consumption; whilst on the other hand, he is only a burthen to the community, if he enjoys its protection without making any returns, either by being employed himself, or employing others.

Hence it follows, that the advantage of an encreasing people arises from the encrease of their skill and industry; since a populous country without skill or industry, like an unweildy body without strength or activity, is only a burthen to itself, and a prey to others. We must therefore find *employments* for men, as well as *men* for employments; and whilst they can be set to work, either towards the cultivation of lands, or the encrease of manufactures, or the enlargement of foreign commerce, they will find a comfortable livelihood for themselves, and prove an additional strength to the public.

The more numerous they are, the greater will be their necessity to become industrious; New Necessities will create New Employments; New Employments will produce an Encrease of Riches; and the Encrease of Riches will maintain the Encrease of People.

But if the multiplicity of inhabitants should be greater than what their skill and labour, or the products of our country, can sustain; then it becomes a necessary policy, a policy observed by all wise states, to plant COLONIES in other soils and climates, lest our subjects should take refuge amongst our neighbours, and by adding an encrease of people to a foreign country, prove a double loss to our own: whereas, when the superfluous numbers may retire to colonies which we ourselves have provided, and there still enjoy the same lenity of government, they will still continue to live contentedly under the same subjection, and, by the help of more various occupations in different climates, will mutually assist, and be assisted by, their mother country; not only better providing for themselves, but, by their absence, affording better means of subsistence to those they leave at home.

Thus every government subsists by the dependancy of its members on each other, whose obligations are reciprocal, and whose interests are mutual; it therefore becomes the ultimate Policy of every administration, so to REGULATE the various employment of the people, that the private pursuits of each individual may be subservient to the support and benefit of the whole: for it is not the number of men only, but their good order, like the discipline of an army, that procures strength and power to a kingdom.

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The variety of employments depends on the situation and climate of the country, and the different necessities and customs of the inhabitants; industry being first requisite to supply the natural wants of life, and is more and more enlarged by the farther demands made for conveniencies, fashions, pleasures, and luxury. All these occasion a number and variety of occupations, of which, with respect to Trade, we are chiefly to consider, such as consist—first, in the *Cultivation* of the natural Products;—secondly, in their *Improvement* and *Manufacture*;—next, in the intermediate *buying* and *selling* for our own use;—and lastly, in the *Exportation* of whatever is superfluous and unnecessary for home consumption. In which progress, by endeavouring to make the *value* of what we spare from ourselves and colonies, exceed the *value* of our demands from foreign countries, we may add a greater circulation of riches and credit to our own kingdom. These are the principal movements in the great machine of Trade, dependant on each other, and combining together to make a nation happy within itself and formidable abroad: for NUMBERS OF PEOPLE, regularly EMPLOYED, will raise a sufficiency of products and manufactures for home consumption, and an overplus for foreign commerce;—FOREIGN COMMERCE, properly SETTLED, will introduce an addition of money and credit;—and MONEY and CREDIT, duly CIRCULATED, will again contribute to the encrease of our home consumption, and the advancement of our foreign commerce.

From these considerations, thus in general premised, I have endeavoured to deduce the true SYSTEM of *national commerce*, which we may improve to our *national advantage*, by adapting our laws to such principles and maxims of policy, as will best promote,

First, The Encrease of our Products and Manufactures at home.

Secondly, The Advancement of our Commerce abroad.

And

Thirdly, The due Circulation of the Money and Credit arising from both.

P A R T I.

Concerning the Encrease of our Products and
Manufactures at home.

WITH respect to the Encrease of our Products, HUSBANDRY is to be considered as the principal and most necessary application, being, in truth, the foundation of every other employment, as from hence we raise the *necessary provisions* for the sustenance of life, and the *original materials* for the make of our manufactures; both, in their consequences, tending to the support of the people; the enlargement of Trade; and the encrease of the national wealth.

First then, let us consider that chief and essential part of HUSBANDRY, which consists in raising the products of the earth *necessary* for the *sustenance of life*: since the natural plenty or scarcity of these products, determines the price of provisions, and the price of provisions determines the price of labour in every business and occupation whatsoever.

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TO ENCOURAGE THE CULTIVATION OF THE LAND, that it may bring forth its fruits in due season, for our *food* and *nourishment*, seems to be so evident a doctrine, as not to need any pains to have it inculcated. All countries may be supposed to follow this first law of nature towards their own preservation, and to form their regulations towards it according to the nature and quantity of their productions, and the wants and exigencies of the several inhabitants.

This, in the first instance, shews the necessity of making the laws of every country not only conformable to the genius of the people and the constitution of their government, but, as a late eminent writer has observed, even to the temper of its soil and climate; and, I may add, to the various changes of times and seasons.

France, for example, by its extent from north to south, is capable of yielding a variety of products, as well for the supply of luxury, as of the necessaries of life; but for that very reason is obliged to be circumspect in directing the cultivation of its grounds in every quarter, and to establish restrictive laws in different provinces, forbidding lands, capable of producing corn, to be planted into vineyards, lest the too great quantity of ground employed in one production, should occasion a deficiency in the culture of the other. But England having a soil and climate chiefly proper for arable and pasture, these are of course the principal objects of its husbandry; and, as both are equally productive of the first necessaries of life, an open liberty is indulged to the improvement of each: so that all our antient statutes, which formerly limited certain portions of lands for *grain*, and another for *pasturage*, are now laid aside,

aside, and land-owners permitted to follow that course of husbandry, which they may judge to be most likely to yield the greatest profit by *the sale and consumption*; for, after all, the encrease or decrease of every sort of cultivation will ultimately depend on the demands that may be made for the *sale and consumption* of its produce.

This must lead us to the consideration of the next Maxim, which after our products are freely raised, requires an equal *freedom for their sale*. The more general liberty we give to their consumption, the greater will be their general encrease, which holds true, without the imputation of a paradox, in the produce and consumption of all commodities whatsoever.

In France, by several antient ordonnances, all traffick in corn was declared contreband, and the exporting it abroad, or even transmitting it from one province to another, absolutely forbid without a permit from the council of State: hence frequently arose the want of a sufficient supply even for their own consumption; as the industry in cultivating a produce will every where diminish, in proportion to the restriction on its sale. This having been represented by the Academy lately established at Paris for the improvement of agriculture, the former system is in some measure changed, and the sale and export of corn is now allowed at certain seasons, and in certain districts.

It is our peculiar happiness in England to enjoy a more extensive liberty in the sale of all our natural productions. Many of our antient statutes, as well as modern, declaring it lawful for all persons to bring corn and provisions into any city, town, or market, and to sell the same in gross or retale: and since this
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article of husbandry is now advanced to be an object of foreign Trade, by our allowing even a bounty upon its exportation; what an immense benefit has accrued, not only from its sale abroad, but from a vast encrease of stock at home! These laws are yet the more excellent, as they execute themselves in guarding against every emergency, being adapted, according to the principle before mentioned, not only to the nature of our soil, but to the various changes that may happen in our climate; granting indulgencies when the times are indulgent; and being rigid and severe when the times themselves are so.

These Maxims, so essential towards procuring a sufficient supply of necessaries for ourselves, must equally co-operate in providing the necessaries of *food* and *fodder* for our horses and cattle; since the labour we bestow for their support is amply repaid by their subsequent service, utility, and profit. Plenty of fodder will reduce the price at which our sheep and cattle are fed, consequently, the cheaper they are fed, the cheaper they will be sold for our own food and consumption. This shews the connexions that are requisite in carrying on the business of farming, wherein the various operations of grazing and tillage are mutually subservient to each other: the straw of our corn, and the dung of our cattle, making the manure to help the future cultivation. Add to this, the benefit our grounds receive by the sowing of turnips, folding of sheep, and many other improvements that have been lately proposed for the advancement of husbandry, by which our lands are enriched, and rentals encreased. Thus, by enclosing wastes, draining fens, manuring such lands as are barren, and improving what are already broke up, we may enlarge the
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quantity of our native products, and widen, as it were, the boundaries of our own territories: for in common estimation, we should look upon the improvement of every individual spot of ground, as an addition of so much land to the kingdom in general.

Such ENCOURAGEMENTS are not only necessary towards procuring a sufficient supply of meat and drink, arising from *pasture* and *tillage* of land, but must be extended to those other provisions to be gained by the *fisheries* in our rivers, or out at sea. It is well known, that from hence the people in Holland make themselves amends for all the inconveniencies of their soil and climate, and, by the sale of these native products of their watry element, are enabled to maintain the immense expence of draining their ground, making their dykes, and keeping up the banks of their rivers and sea-walls. It is with these that they lay up even stores and magazines of all sorts of other provisions; and, in short, it is by the assistance of this golden mine of their commonwealth, as it is called in several of their placards, that they support the revenues of their state, and enlarge their navigation in almost every other branch of commerce.

Lastly, to take in the whole of all the necessaries, let us consider the great article of *fuel*, equally necessary, and of equal importance with all the foregoing, as in fact all the others would be useless without it; consequently, it must require no less care in every country to procure an *ample supply*, and to encourage a *free sale* of coal and firewood, as the price of all other provisions will, in a great measure, depend on the quantity and price of these. France is obliged to be

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particularly attentive to the preservation of its firewood, inasmuch as it has no great dependance on any coal mines to supply the want of it. Hence arises the necessity of enforcing, in a very severe manner, all their antient forest laws, and particularly their great ordonnance *des eaux & forêts*, containing a number of articles, prohibiting the sale of any sort of wood without the license and mark of the King's commissaries; directing at what growth, and at what times, the firewood is to be felled, the manner of its carriage, either by land or by floats on the rivers, and settling the terms of sale at the last place of its destination. England, at the same time, being abundantly supplied with all the different species of fuel, is sollicitous only to prevent all collusive gains by combinations amongst the dealers, or by any frauds or deceits that may be used in the measurement or price. Thus whilst it is the chief concern of France to procure a quantity, it is ours in England to regulate the consumption; nothing more being wanting with us, than to make the *plenty* and *freedom* of sale in this article answer the good effects of the *plenty* and *freedom* of sale in all others; for it is in vain to have an abundant supply of one necessary provision, whilst any scarcity remains in another. All our first necessities should equally appear in such abundance, as jointly to promote their own and the sale of all other commodities whatsoever. NATIONAL PLENTY thus becomes a NATIONAL BENEFIT, both with regard to our consumption at home, and to the exportation of the overplus to foreign countries.

But here let us observe, that the EXPORTATION of these necessary provisions into foreign countries is so far, and no farther,

farther, to be indulged, than as it may encourage the labour of our people, and encrease our own cultivation; as, on the other hand, the IMPORTATION of what is foreign is so far, and no farther, to be restrained, than as it may discourage the labour of our people, and decrease our own cultivation. Both must be governed by the appearance of our own quantity at home, exporting the overplus when we enjoy an abundance, and importing a supply when we are under any want or scarcity. The raising the necessaries of life, from the produce of our own land, is one end we should aim at; the procuring a plentiful supply is another. To obtain both these ends would certainly be the most beneficial; but it is PLENTY OF PROVISIONS we should principally endeavour to secure, since upon this depends the price of labour and the success of every other branch of trade and business.

After having procured a general plenty of necessary provisions, the next care must be to reduce the PRICE in proportion to that PLENTY; for it is in vain to allow a liberty of cultivation and a freedom of sale, if we don't obtain that *cheapness* in price, which the *plenty* arising from thence must be supposed to create.

Upon this point we are to remark, that the PRICE of every commodity must be estimated by the *quantity* exposed to sale, and the *demands* that are made for it; many buyers and little to be sold will enhance the price, as, on the contrary, much to be sold, and few to buy, will diminish it. To bring therefore the price of necessary provisions as near as possible to this true standard, it is the policy of every country to establish markets in all their chief towns and cities, which being replenished with the

ductions of the neighbourhood, the price may be determined by the appearance of its quantity, and the wants of its inhabitants. To this end many ordonnances are published in France, to oblige all sellers of meat, fish, bread, &c. to expose their whole stock to publick view, that a price may be fixed according to the quantity so exposed. In like manner, officers are appointed in every city in Holland to assess the price of their market provisions, which must be publickly laid upon stalls in the open streets, and not sold in private houses: to the same purpose many of our ancient statutes, not only granted liberty to all persons to come into any town and city to sell their corn and other provisions, but obliged them to sell in market *ouvert*, empowering the magistrates to settle the rates, and to allow reasonable gain, and no more.

Here, on the other hand, a consideration must take place on behalf of the land-owners and farmers, who originally cultivate these provisions in order to gain a profit by their sale, which therefore must be allowed to bear such a price as to make it worth the while to undertake their cultivation; if a production is likely to be rendered too cheap, no one will raise it; as when it is too dear, none will buy it. TO LIVE and TO LET LIVE is a general rule in all traffick; accordingly a medium must be established of a living price, to procure that reasonable gain, to which they, who live by selling the necessities of life, are equally entitled with those who live by selling any other commodity.

The great duty therefore of the magistrates must be to prevent the raising the price of corn and other provisions by any artificial or illegal methods, and particularly to execute the

the penal laws, which have been or may be enacted against forestallers, regrators, and engrossers : for although some of our antient laws, passed for that purpose, may be looked upon as obsolete, yet surely it must be expedient to renew the like penalties against such retailers and intermediate dealers, as conspire together not to sell the common provisions but at their own arbitrary prices. This is the evil most complained of in this age, nor can any practice be attended with worse consequence than such combinations to frustrate the blessings of Providence, and by a fictitious pretence of scarcity, deprive the community of the benefit of that cheapness, which will always attend the appearance of plenty.

These being the natural methods, by which the rate of provisions ought to be settled, how impolitick must it be to raise that price by any collateral circumstances of duties and taxes fixed on their consumption : it being plainly proved by the most eminent writers, who have delivered their thoughts upon this subject, that every tax, levied on the common necessities of life, will in the end prove a tax upon industry, and a burthen upon Trade. Thus the Gabelles on salt, and the town-duties on the entry of provisions in the great cities of France, must, in the first instance, appear as grievous oppressions on their people, though alleviated in some measure by the conditions under which their price is restrained from being advanced any higher than the rate of the tax : whereas, when home duties are imposed on our necessities in England, where such arbitrary conditions cannot be annexed, the price is raised even beyond the proportion of the duties paid, which as it heightens the charge of living, must consequently oblige us to
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fix a higher rate on all our other commodities, which is not only oppressive to the people at home, but ultimately tends to prejudice every branch of our traffick abroad.

This points out to us the farther policy, that with regard to our foreign rivals in trade, we should endeavour to render the expence of living cheaper in this country than it is in theirs, in order thereby to reduce the price of labour, which will enable us to offer our merchandizes at a cheaper rate, and consequently obtain a preference in their sale at all the foreign markets.

Such are the consequences naturally resulting from the foregoing premises; for as *plenty* or *scarcity* will determine the *price of provisions*, so the price of provisions will in general determine the *price of labour*, and the price of labour will determine the *price* of all productions and commodities whatsoever.

In examining this chain of the first principles of Trade, we may discover several difficulties in forming our measures so as to answer the ultimate end and benefit of it: for the end and benefit of Trade being the employment of the people, we must excite them to it by the allurements of profit; but the profit of employment must arise from the high wages that are paid for it; yet to give high wages must occasion dearth in the workmanship, which will obstruct their sale; as, on the other side, low wages will be a discouragement to any work at all. So again, if provisions are sold dear, where shall we find a vent? and if they are sold cheap, where will be the profit in raising them? Besides, cheapness of living, we know, often proves an inducement to idleness and a neglect of industry in every other occupation; it being observed, that
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when labourers can earn as much in two or three days, as in cheap seasons will keep them the rest of the week, they are apt to lay aside their work for the remainder of the time.

Now to combine circumstances so seemingly opposite, our first rule might be to proportion the price of labour as near as may be to the price of living; if the price of one answers to the other, business will go on without interruption; for as the labourer gets nothing by the dearth of wages, when it is attended with equal dearth of living; so neither will he be induced to idleness from the cheapness of living, when it is attended with equal cheapness of wages. Accordingly our laws have empowered the justices of peace to settle these on even terms, with regard to the labouring men employed in husbandry; but in other works, where skill is requisite, we must expect the artist will demand a recompence adequate to his skill in the workmanship; and this can only be settled by such agreement as may be entered into between the master and servant. I have just above surmised the difficulty of reconciling the profit of these individuals to the general interest of Trade, agreeably to the true system of national commerce. Our laws indeed, in some certain manufactures, and other occupations, have attempted to limit the demands of the servants and journeymen to some certain bounds, with regard both to wages and times of working; but as the remedy must be obtained by the tedious methods of informations in our courts of justice, the evil oftentimes remains without redress, on account of the expence of putting the law in execution. Whereas in France the general edict of 1669 empowers the magistrates in every town and city, where any manufactures are established, to de-
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cide all disputes between the masters and journeymen, with regard to wages, in a summary manner, without the interposition of solicitor or counsel, which otherwise, as it is expressed in the preamble, might create tedious and expensive law-suits, and draw off both parties from the pursuit of their business and the profit of their employment. But there is another evil yet more difficult to redress in our country, I mean, the unlawful combinations of artificers and workmen, who often associate, promise, and covenant together, not to do any work but at a certain rate: I have elsewhere mentioned by what severe punishments the magistrates in France effectually suppress any such daring insults on their government*; and as these associations are attended with the same bad consequences as those which are made to render provisions dear, and are equally complained of, as the growing evils of the present times, they ought equally to be guarded against by a stricter execution of our penal laws; for to levy penalties on those who raise the price of provisions, will avail but little, unless the same be inflicted on those who raise the price of labour.

These abuses being restrained, we must recur to the general principles of liberty, so often before recommended, and which, upon the conclusion of this point, I beg leave to recapitulate, namely,—That a *general liberty* granted to raise our necessary provisions will procure us a *general plenty* for sale;—That a *general indulgence* allowed to their *sale* will reduce them to a *general cheapness*;—and, That a *general cheapness* will enable our poor to work in every occupation upon more moderate terms; an expedient the most necessary in this country, because

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* See the treatise concerning the Police of France, p. 103.

as Englishmen will not submit to that coarse fare, which some of our neighbours are accustomed to, a mitigation in the price of provisions is the only method we can resort to for an abatement in the price of labour.

We must now proceed to take into consideration by what methods we may promote that second branch of HUSBANDRY, which consists in raising such further productions as may supply us with the *materials* for labour and manufacture in the articles for clothing, buildings, furniture, and all the other uses, comforts, and conveniencies of life.

With respect to the *materials* for clothing, we may remark, how Providence, in the first instance, has kindly adapted the natural products of each country, to the more immediate conveniency of its inhabitants; silk being gathered in the warmer climates, where such thin and light apparel is most agreeable; whilst wool and fur are the growth of the more cold and northern nations: but as seasons and fashions are equally changeable, so the particular conveniency of one country, comes, through luxury, to be the habit of another; and the interest of all is supported by a mutual barter of what is peculiar to each: every nation endeavouring to improve their own native growth, and add the gain of the manufacture to the first cost of the material; and accordingly it has universally prevailed as the general maxim of all states, to make, as far as they are able, a *monopoly* of their own *staple commodities*.

Here then a distinction must be made between what are raised for the provisions of life, and what are produced as materials for manufacture: to the first, *freedom* of sale may be extended even to *exportation*; but in the latter instance,

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the *freedom* is only to be allowed *at home*, but the exportation totally discouraged.

This with regard to our *wool*, is the main point we should pursue, as it is indeed the main object of our commerce; since the wool, which is peculiar to our soil, enables us to compleat a manufacture, not to be equalled by any that is made of foreign growth. It is upon this account that the wool of our sheep and the hides of our cattle may be esteemed the richest produce of our country, I mean, with respect to the many employments they afterwards create, by being converted into a variety of manufactures. When therefore the chief benefit arises from the manufacture, the *material* should on all accounts be restrained from being *sent abroad*; for by keeping at home what is capable of being improved by our own people, we preserve to ourselves a *monopoly* of the Trade, and gain a double advantage, both by the growth and manufacture: on the other hand, whatever profits a foreign country may make, by the purchase and improvement of our materials, must be computed as what we might other ways have gained, and consequently be put down as a double loss to us.

For these reasons, severe laws are made in every country against the exportation of their own native materials for manufacture; if therefore the many acts of parliament which have been passed in England, are not sufficient to prevent the clandestine running of our wool to our neighbours, it is to be hoped some better methods may be fixed on, either to make our prohibitory laws more effectual, or to establish others in their stead, that may more easily be put in execution.

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Let us farther consider, that by preventing our materials from being transported, we shall preserve a greater quantity at home, which consequently will reduce their price in the sale; and *cheapness of materials* is an additional circumstance to the *cheapness of labour*, both being necessary to reduce the price of our manufactures.

From the same reasons it will follow, that whilst we prohibit the *exportation* of our *own* materials, we should encourage the *importation* of what is *foreign*, and endeavour to retaliate with our neighbours, not only by importing but even *transplanting* their materials into our soil, and thus adopt as our own, what might originally be the growth of another country. Accordingly we cultivate hemp and flax, which for a long time past, were the peculiar articles of husbandry in several of the more northern countries in Europe; whence they produced a sufficient quantity, not only for sail-cloth and cordage, of which I shall speak under another head, but for clothing and furniture to supply both their own consumption and the demands of their neighbours. Add to these, the transplanting several ingredients, necessary towards the completion of our manufactures, such as dying drugs of various kinds, which are raised in France and Holland, and are equally capable of being cultivated in our own country; the vast profits they make in Holland by the culture of madder, has lately excited our Legislature to encourage the raising it in England. And as to what our soil and *climate* will not yield, let us have recourse to our *colonies* in the more *southern* or *western* parts of the world, which, I shall presently observe, are capable of affording us, not only raw silks, but many other productions, so cheap and in such abundance, as to free us from the necessity of purchasing them from our neighbours in Europe.

Besides the materials for clothing and furniture, many more are to be raised to serve the other purposes and conveniencies of life: amongst these the growth of WOOD and TIMBER demands our principal attention, being so necessary not only for fuel, but for the making and compleating a variety of manufactures, of which the implements of husbandry and the utensils in Trade are composed, and on which the strength and conveniency of all our buildings do chiefly depend. Planting, even if it be designed for ornament only, is attended with many beneficial consequences: at the same time that a gentleman adorns his ground, he adds future wealth to his family and country; and for a small expence at the present, leaves the inheritance of a great estate to his posterity. But besides private profit, national utility requires that a sufficient growth be preserved for the building of ships to supply our navigation. For these several purposes many regulations are enforced in France, by the ordonnance *des eaux & forêts*, which indeed seem the more necessary in that kingdom, inasmuch as the constant demand that is made for young wood to serve for firing, will not spare sufficient for any to arrive to such a growth as may render it fit for the use of the navy. In England likewise many acts of parliament have been passed, both of antient and modern date, not only to encourage the planting of Timber, but to prevent it from being afterwards untimely cut, barked, or otherwise destroyed. For if we would boast of an *independant* navigation, we should be careful to preserve an *independant* supply of a material so necessary for the construction of our *shipping*: a maxim which I shall presently again take notice of, as proper to be enforced in procuring all other naval stores necessary for the support of our navigation.

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Whilst part of our native products are thus to be raised above ground, many others are to be found underneath it, by digging the mines for TIN, LEAD, IRON, COPPER, COALS, &c. Some of these materials are also ranged under the denomination of our *staple commodities*, and contribute so much to our conveniency at home and to the advancement of our Trade abroad, as to deserve the assistance and protection of our government. At the same time it must be allowed, that they who thus penetrate the inward recesses of the mountains, to bring out their hidden treasures, are entitled to be chiefly directed by their own laws and constitutions; for in employments so hazardous, and different from all others, no regulations can be made, but what the adventurers may form amongst themselves; and accordingly we find the miners in every country in Europe, as they who work in the iron mines of France, or in the copper mines of Sweden and Denmark, or in the quicksilver mines of Hungary and Spain, are governed by a peculiar kind of discipline, distinct from the municipal laws of their own country. In like manner the tin miners in Cornwall enjoy many particular privileges, granted by Charter, or guided by customs and constitutions of their own, called the laws of the *Stannaries*, as being distinct and separate from the common and statute law of the kingdom.

Amongst the several ores to be found in our island, *Tin* and *Lead* have the prerogative of being called the parents of our Trade, as being the original commodities antiently sought for by others, and which made us known to the first merchants of the world: these are so peculiar to us, and so much wanted every where, that the universal demand must always afford us
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constant employment; and having a right to make a monopoly of them as our staple, whatever price we fix on their sale abroad must be complied with, and from all parts return a clear gain to the nation.

But with respect to *iron ore*, we not only find many competitors abroad, but many difficulties at home, from the scarcity of cord-wood to convert it by the furnace into pig iron, and from thence by the forge into bar iron, in order to make it fit to be afterwards turned into other useful manufactures. Here we may take notice, how necessary one material is to the production of another, since *iron* cannot be made without the use of *wood*, nor *wood* cut down without the help of *iron*: in considering these two articles together, we find ourselves driven to this dilemma, either to work up the iron of our own mines, which by the scarcity of cord-wood, as above, will render the manufacture too dear; or else to import foreign iron, and so lose the benefit of our own produce. If both these materials could be produced in our islands, in such *equal quantities*, and at such *equal price*, as is consistent with the *sale* of the manufacture, we might then discourage the importation from abroad; but if iron of our own produce be so dear, as to obstruct the *sale* of the manufacture, it cannot be improper to encourage its importation from abroad, especially from our Colonies, as its cheapness from thence would yield us the benefit of a more general sale, in the common competition with our neighbours: I have been the more particular in this, as of all metals, iron is of the greatest utility to mankind, and creates employment not only by being itself worked up into many various kinds of manufactures, but by the assistance it affords in cutting, hammering,

mering, and working many other materials into manufactures ; and of such consequence it is, with respect to all warlike and naval purposes, as to make every country that is enriched with it, much more formidable, than those who abound even in mines of gold and silver ; since it is a known remark, that they who are masters of iron, can easily make others yield up, what they might think in the beginning a more valuable commodity.

I shall here beg leave again to mention the produce of our *coal* mines, which being the chief article of our fuel, its cheapness or dearness must influence, not only the price of all our provisions, as observed before, but also of all materials, labour, and manufactures. How ought we therefore to lament, that amidst such an abundant supply of this necessary article, as might render it cheap, we find the price of it collaterally raised by the *duties* imposed on its being carried by sea from port to port, and especially by that additional charge upon it, when brought into the port of London : what is yet more detrimental to the Trade of this city, coals exported from Newcastle to France or Holland, are charged with a less duty in those foreign ports, than what they pay, when imported into London for our own consumption ; by which means our neighbours are enabled to furnish several manufactures set up in rivalry to ours, at a less expence than we can, in proportion as this our native product is sold cheaper in some of their principal trading cities, than it is in the principal trading city of our own kingdom : strange policy for us to continue such a burthen upon this common necessary, even beyond the time, and after the purposes have been answered, for which those duties were originally proposed.

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I may farther take notice of all those original burthens on Trade, which are created by taxes levied on many other *materials* and *ingredients* necessary towards the make and completion of a manufacture: this evil is still of worse consequence, as every commodity thus primarily charged with a duty, is afterwards sold at a yet more advanced price, by the intermediate dealers, who raise their demands higher in proportion than what they pay to the public; and so encrease their private profits upon the tax, as well as upon the prime cost of their goods, all which ultimately fall with an accumulated weight on the last purchaser.

For this reason, as the great Mr. Lock has evinced, it is more eligible even to the land-owners, to fix the tax on the *land* itself, rather than on its *productions*, provided such a tax be restrained from being encreased on account of any encreased value of the land; for an attempt to improve that revenue in proportion to the improvement of husbandry, would in the end frustrate the improvement of both, since it would tend to a total discouragement to any cultivation at all. From hence we may conceive, that the proposals lately offered for promoting agriculture in France, are not likely ever to be carried into execution, whilst the intendants have a power to raise the *taille réelle* or land-tax, from time to time, according to the improved culture of their ground: whereas the land-tax in England, tho' in some respects an unequal rate, yet being fixed on the original registered value, the quota payable by each county remains equally the same, notwithstanding the several districts may be improved to yield a larger share of productions, and which indeed, without such a sanction and protection, would not receive any improvement at all.

By pursuing these fundamental principles of *Liberty*, *Encouragement*, and *Protection*, so necessary for promoting our Husbandry at home, we may procure at the first hand, all those advantages either for private use or public benefit, which the nature of *our own soil* and *climate*, assisted by the labour of the inhabitants, are capable of yielding. But as the more southern parts of Europe are capable of producing many other materials, which cannot be raised in *our climate*, we must endeavour to make up the deficiency by the assistance of our *colonies* and *plantations* in America; where we have a length of dominions extending to different climates, and lying under the same latitudes with those districts in Europe, which cultivate different productions from our own: from these colonies therefore, we may supply ourselves with what has hitherto been esteemed the peculiar commodities of our rival neighbours. For example, it has been often suggested with what ease we might gather *raw silk* in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, countries capable of producing the best sort and in large quantities: from thence also, and even from our more northern colonies, we may procure many other products and materials necessary for the support of our navigation, such as *bemp*, *pitch*, *tar*, *rosin*, *turpentine*, and *mast trees*, the supply of which is facilitated the better, by some of the provinces being commodiously situated along the sea-coasts, with large rivers running up to our most inland settlements; where *iron*, as also *fir trees* and *timber*, are to be found in vast abundance, and equal plenty; accordingly by granting *bounties* and *indulgencies* to their *importation*, we may now be supplied in a certain and beneficial manner from our own

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dominions,

dominions, with all these products, which, as one of our acts of parliament recites, “ were formerly brought mostly “ from foreign parts in foreign shipping, at exorbitant prices, “ to the great prejudice of our Trade and navigation.” For it is well known that some of our European neighbours considered these naval stores as their own *staple* products, and consequently endeavoured to make a *monopoly* of them, so as sometimes to threaten not to let us have them at any rate, and at all times selling them at their own price and upon their own conditions : but surely, as a maritime power, we ought not to be dependant for our *naval stores*, on any other maritime power ; since, agreeably to the maxim I before alluded to, an *independent navigation* is essential to a nation whose riches depend on Trade and navigation.

Besides these European commodities, many others are brought from the American plantations, which can neither be produced by us nor by our neighbours, and which were formerly unknown to any part of Europe ; such as *sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, rice, indigo, &c.* by which means our colonies afford their mother country not only more land and more subjects, but the effects of different climates, and a greater variety of products ; and the greater *variety of products* we can procure, the greater *variety of employments* will be created.

But let us observe, that with regard to colonies, our principle must be to encourage only the *cultivation of materials*, whilst we assume to ourselves what may be farther wanting for their *improvement and manufacture* ; a condition which all other colonies in America, dependant on the different powers in

in Europe, are obliged to submit to. The French not only prohibit their planters in the western islands from undertaking any kind of manufactures, but even forbid any attempt towards raising of vineyards, or any other natural productions, that might interfere with their own cultivation at home.

In pursuing therefore the maxims above recommended in this second branch of our *husbandry*, with regard to the materials necessary for manufacture, the following purposes are chiefly to be answered;—first, the *employment* of our people in our own *cultivation*;—next, in *procuring* the natural productions at *prime cost*;—and lastly, in being *independant* on any foreign country for a supply.—Consequently, whatever we can raise at home, capable of being farther improved, we should keep at home for that purpose; and prevent, as much as possible, from being sent abroad to be improved in other countries: for the same reason we should encourage the transplanting foreign materials into our soil, in order to gain the advantage of the improvement:—and lastly, whatever our soil and climate may be incapable of producing, let us take from our *own colonies*: for whilst they can supply us with the *products* we want, and they can raise, and we in return send them such *manufactures* as they want, and we can make, we shall mutually assist each other; and the *increase* of their employments abroad will *increase* our employments at home; new Materials will introduce new Manufactures; new Manufactures will introduce new Trades; and new Trades will introduce new Wealth and Power to the kingdom in general.

The first *productions* being raised by the arts of husbandry, the national wealth is to be farther encreased, by the additional value they may receive from their being *improved*. Such as working the wool of our sheep into cloths, and the hides of our cattle into leather; the converting the hemp and flax into linnen and cordage; the building of ships and houses with timber; and turning the produce of the mines into a multitude of useful utensils: all these, together with what we work up with foreign materials, come under the denomination of MANUFACTURES, from whence proceeds the additional and abundant encrease of riches to the nation; every species of them, when completely finished, receiving the chiefest part of their worth from the skill and labour of the workmen. This therefore being the next and second advancement toward gaining the ballance of Trade, it is equally our interest to support our people thus employed in our manufactures, in such a manner that they may sufficiently supply our home consumption, and answer the demands for foreign exportation.

The success of our manufactures, like that of our husbandry, will first of all depend on the two general principles of ENCOURAGEMENT and REGULATION; ENCOURAGEMENT will encrease their number, and REGULATION will promote their *goodness, cheapness, and freedom of sale*.

When Lewis XIV, by the advice of his great minister Colbert, began to *encourage* the manufactures of his kingdom, he found it necessary to abate the rigour of his government, by granting many extraordinary privileges and immunities; first of all, to such as offered to set up any new manufactures in his kingdom, to these, as appears by the letters patent for
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the first establishment of the manufactures at Lyons, Tours, Rouen, Abbeville, &c. he first advanced a large sum of money, or at least lent it for a time without interest, the better to enable them to begin their enterprize : he continued afterwards to allow them annual pensions, excused their under-workmen from the tax called the *taille*, and from having any soldiers quartered on them : he also dispensed his guardianship and protection to their children, if they were natives ; and if strangers, exempted them from the *escheat* or forfeiture of their goods and chattels ; and issued out his orders of indulgence, that after some time spent in the journey-work, they should obtain the right of apprenticeship, and freedom to exercise as masters, either the same art or any other dependant on it. Of all the new arts and mysteries so introduced into France, none have affected us more than the setting up the cloth fabrique at Abbeville, which, by the encouragements abovementioned to the first undertakers, is now established in high reputation, to the detriment of the staple manufacture of this kingdom.

It was in pursuance of the same national policy, that we heretofore took the French and Flamands under our protection, when they were driven by persecutions out of their own countries ; from whom we also gained the knowledge of many new arts and mysteries, which now create employment for thousands of our own inhabitants, and who from thence have been taught to vie with the same rival nations in their own staple commodities, and even to vend abroad the very merchandizes we used formerly to purchase from others ; so that we have not only transplanted the materials, but even as
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it were, engrafted into our own country, the very arts and inventions of other people; and are at this time cultivating and improving the manufacturies of filk, brocades, hats, stockings, glafs, and paper, employments some years ago unknown in this kingdom.

Let us not however forget that the chief *indulgence* should be shewn to *our natives at home*, who, agreeably to the maxims laid down in the introduction, ought principally to be favoured, under the protection of our government, with *liberty of conscience*, and the *free exercise* of their Trades and occupations: to these let us add such *bounties* and *gratuities*, as may incite our artists to an emulation to excel, according to the laudable design of the society lately established in London, for bestowing prizes and præmiums for promoting and improving all such arts and manufactures as may conduce to the national interest and Trade of this kingdom: but above all, the best method of keeping both our own subjects and our arts at home, is to encourage the *wear* and *consumption* of our *manufactures* among ourselves; to this purpose, it is to be wished that persons in high rank would set the example; first, in the purchase of our staple commodities, as that will occasion double employment to our inhabitants; and the more encouragement we give to the improvement and manufacture of our own materials, the less temptation there will be to export them unimproved, to be manufactured elsewhere. But of whatever materials our manufactures may be composed, they ought certainly to be preferred to any that are made abroad, as the chief cost doth not arise from the price of the material, but from the wages that are paid for the workmanship, in
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which every true lover of his country ought surely to employ his own countrymen, since our artists are arrived at such skill in the manufactures composed of foreign growth, as to excel even those from whom we originally borrowed the art.

After thus settling the means requisite to ENCOURAGE our manufactures, we must proceed to make the proper REGULATIONS to advance their goodness and credit: it would be too tedious to enumerate the particular laws passed in England to this purpose; let it suffice to observe, that all the acts of parliament from Edward the III^d's Reign to the present, to whatever counties or towns, or to whatever kinds of manufactures they relate, prescribe in general, either a measurement of length and breadth, or of quality, weight, and fineness. Sir Josiah Child, in his discourse on Trade, p. 150, alledges, that it would be of more advantage to the woollen manufacture, to leave all men to make what cloths and stuffs they pleased, how they would, when and where they would, and of any length and sizes: but when we reflect on the many deceits and frauds that may be committed in the making, fulling, and stretching the cloths, it seems highly necessary for the preservation of our credit, as declared in the preamble of several of our statutes, to fix some certain standard of measure and weight, that is to say, that every piece of cloth which contains in the water, thoroughly wet, so many yards, should answer to so many pounds weight, after it has been scoured, thickened, milled, and fully dried.

If it would be too tedious to recite all our own statutes relating to the *regulation* of our manufactures; it will be still more so to enumerate all the ordinances and arrêts of council
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which have passed in France upon the same subject; these prescribe an assize of measurement and quality in the several manufactures of woollen and linnen cloths, gold and silver brocades, alamodes, lustrings, leather, hats, paper, tapestry, glass, and all other kinds of necessary implements and utensils, made and wrought in each respective province. And for the prevention of frauds in putting a false gloss or colour, or using bad materials in their composition, marks and stamps are fixed upon them, by way of sanction of their being made answerable to the standard. And it is ordained by several arrêts of council, that all the manufactures which do not answer the marks and stamps so respectively put upon them, shall be exposed upon a gibbet in the public market-place, with the name of the maker wrote underneath at full length; and upon a repetition of the like deceit, the maker himself to be chained to the gibbet for a certain number of hours, and ever after deprived of his freedom to work in the same Trade. It is by such punishments we should endeavour on our part to prevent the like frauds, which may destroy the *credit* of any of our manufactures, that *credit*, upon which the possibility of their being sold at all, doth entirely depend. It is a strange neglect in policy, that in a national concern, any tradesman should be suffered, with impunity, to sacrifice the honour of his country, and create such diffidence and distrust amongst foreigners, as to lessen our general intercourse of commerce, and bring a loss and disgrace to the whole kingdom.

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These *regulations* to promote the *goodness* and *credit* of our saleable commodities, will still be ineffectual, unless they are extended to reduce the *price* to as low a rate as the same species are sold for by our neighbours, since in the present competition of Trade, *cheapness* is every where esteemed to be the next prevailing recommendation.

The *price* of a manufacture must in some measure be settled by the *price of the materials* of which it is composed; with regard to these, I have, in a preceding article of the rules to be observed in their cultivation, taken notice of the necessity of producing them in our own soil, or importing them from abroad at the cheapest rate, and must now repeat, agreeably to the constant principle to be recommended under this head, that every *material* towards the *composition*, and every *ingredient* towards the *completion* of a manufacture, ought to be *exempted* from all *duties* and *taxes*, since every burthen originally laid upon a material or an ingredient, will prove a yet heavier burthen upon the manufacture itself.

The *price* of a manufacture will yet again depend on the *price of wages*, which will not only be governed by the price of living; but, in works of skill, by the demands which may be raised in proportion to the skill of the workmen; and this must be determined by the agreements that may be made between those who employ and those who are employed. I must refer back to what I have already observed in pages 23 and 24, on the difficulties we are under in adjusting and reconciling the profits of such employments to the common profit of our national commerce, wherein I have remarked how this end is more effectually obtained by the stricter
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methods used in France towards suppressing the disputes between masters and workmen, and the combination of either with regard to the price of wages or the price of the manufacture itself; an advantage which the more arbitrary government of France may be said to have over ours, whose lenity in the execution of our laws is the happier distinction of our free constitution.

Under these circumstances the following proposal may be offered to our consideration, namely, that since the price of a manufacture depends so much on the wages paid, and the numbers employed in making it, so consequently the *fewer* that shall be employed about it, the *cheaper* will be the manufacture: now in order to complete a work by few hands, engines and machines are contrived to supply the place of a greater number, by the help of which, the most curious pieces of art may be finished in a little time and at a small expence. The Dutch, who never spare industry where money is to be got by it, yet make use of engines and machines wherever they can make them answer the purpose, and save the expence of labour: instances of this appear in the great number of mills for sawing of stones and wood, which by the guidance of one or two men, perform the work of a multitude: here it may seem strange, that in a discourse concerning the benefit of employing our people, a recommendation should be offered of that which must destroy the necessity of their labour: all that can be alledged in answer to this, is, that since other nations do make use of such engines, and are thereby enabled to offer their productions at a low rate, it is in vain for us to persevere in toilsome methods, which will lay us under an obligation to
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demand larger prices for our commodities, in proportion to the greater cost in making them.

But whatever may be the price of a manufacture, with respect both to the cost of the materials and of the workmanship, yet still it may be in the power of the vendor to put his own value on it, in proportion to the *demand made*, and the *quantity exposed to sale*. Thus we find a multitude of people perpetually interposing, to make their private advantages, by buying cheap in order to sell dear. These intermediate dealers, as they enlarge the circulation, so they encrease the price, and in some Trades which they are enabled to engross, enhance it so high as to manifest to all the world, that it is their own combinations to procure an exorbitant gain, and not the just value of the commodity, that makes it sell so dear. It is from this consideration that Mr. Lock, in his treatise of Trade and coin, proposed, that those who made, should be the only people that should vend and retale their own commodities, to prevent them from passing through divers hands to the last buyer. Yet with great deference to his judgment, let it be observed, that if the few that make were only to sell, there might be a greater danger of the price being raised by the monopoly. Besides it would be almost impracticable to carry on Trade with any conveniency, without the interposition of such retale dealers, who replenish their shops with variety of goods for all sorts of customers; and by the demands and run of fashions, can instruct the first makers what quantity and what patterns to prepare: the maker himself deals only in one kind of commodity, but the shopkeeper is stored with a variety of goods, to answer the different demands of every buyer.

This points out the advantage of seeking for a greater number of employments, amongst which our people may be divided; for it is certainly more for the national interest to have *number of Trades* and a *few hands* employed in each, than to have *few Trades* and a *greater number* of hands in each: the more variety of employments the people have to subsist by, the less will be their mutual interruption; and the less they interfere with one another, the greater benefit will accrue to the whole. This after all, will be the best means of reducing the sale of our commodities to their natural price, according to the quantity produced and the demands made, agreeably to the principles before laid down, and consistent with that general liberty to which all Englishmen are entitled. In short, let *Trade be open*, and we shall find the *competition* of numbers to sell, will of course reduce the *price* and promote the *consumption*.

This will lead us in the last place to examine the methods of *encouraging an open freedom* of sale, the ultimate view, as I have before observed, of all our laws relating to Trade, without which, all previous encouragements and regulations can avail nothing: by *freedom of sale*, I mean a liberty given to every man to make a profit of any art or lawful occupation he shall please to exercise: one may sell his materials, another his skill, another his labour, and the last the manufacture itself, which he bought only to turn a penny by selling it again. And whoever has skill and industry to support himself by any of these means, without interrupting the order of society, it is contrary to all reason and policy, to preclude him on account of the want of some formal qualifications.

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The first restraint of this sort is the obligation of serving an *apprenticeship*, in order to have the privilege of exercising a Trade. In France, for example, by the severe rules contained in the ordonnance of 1673, it is enjoined, that an apprenticeship for seven years must be served by all who propose to be tradesmen or dealers in any commodities, either whole-sale or retail, and that they must yet serve as journeymen for some time longer, either with their own master or some other in the same Trade: of all which they must produce a certificate to the warden of the company to which that Trade is subservient, before they can be admitted to deal for themselves. There is near the same restraint with us, enacted by the 5th of queen Eliz. cap. 4, which makes it unlawful for any person to set up, occupy, use or exercise any craft, mystery, or occupation whatsoever, then used and occupied within the realm, except he has been brought up therein seven years as an apprentice. Now, not to speak of the various disputes in Westminster hall, concerning what may properly be termed a craft, mystery, or occupation, or what crafts, mysteries, or occupations were used at the time of making this act, it may be sufficient to reflect, what discouragement it is to the propagation or improvement of arts and mysteries in general, that they who have ingenuity enough to find them out without being taught, should be forbid to exercise them; that such men should give place to others less docile in the art, but better qualified by law: the specious pretence for commencing prosecutions against such, is because they cannot be supposed, to understand the Trades they presume to set up; but the true reason is too frequently, that they have made their prosecutors,

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are generally persons of the same mystery, sensible they understand it too well: if a man knows nothing of a craft or mystery, it is not likely that he will succeed in it; if he has discovered it, and does succeed, his not having served an apprenticeship, cannot in reason be urged as an objection.

The next restraint we ought to avoid, is that of hindering a person from the exercise of a Trade, because he is not *free* of a particular *town* or *corporation*, in which he would be willing to set up his Trade; whereas it seems to be the first principle in reason, as I observed in the introduction, that he who has the liberty to live in a place, should be entitled to use the lawful means of gaining his livelihood; and agreeably to this natural policy, Sir Josiah Child, in his treatise on Trade, page 103, observes, that the Dutch, who thrive best by Trade, and have the surest rules to thrive by it, admit not only their own people, but even all kinds of aliens, to be free of any of their societies of merchants, or any of their cities or towns corporate. But it may perhaps be alledged, that the custom of London, by which no one is to use any retail Trade within its jurisdiction, without being free of the city, is so far reasonable, as it is established upon the consideration of the discipline and government, kept up by the antient citizens, from whence many peculiar emoluments are derived to its members; and therefore it is but just, that the person who would be admitted to share these advantages, should gain his title by birth or apprenticeship; or if a stranger, by a fine paid for his admission towards the expence of the regulations: however, in other corporate towns less populous, where no equivalent appears, such a custom of not admitting

admitting a person to trade without taking up a freedom, has been declared void by construction of law, as being an injury to the party, and a prejudice to the public.

Another restriction is, that *exclusive* power set up by particular *companies*, to hinder any man from the exercise of a craft or mystery, unless he takes up his freedom in the fraternity to which that art and mystery belongs. This condition is enjoined in France by the ordonnance of 1673, but as it is almost impossible to carry on any one Trade without interfering with some other, it is usual for a shopkeeper in Paris to purchase a freedom in four or five different communities, for the purpose of carrying on the business only of one. Whereas this restraint is so far softened in London, that although a citizen is obliged to take up his freedom in some one company, yet he may follow the business of another, though he has a right to vote only by the name of that company of which he is free. But in this we must farther guard against any restrictions which may arise from the statutes or bye laws of these companies, which sometimes seem calculated to promote their own particular interest, rather than the interest of Trade in general. For which reason, the bye laws of these fraternities at Paris, are subject to the visitation of the lieutenant-general of the police, who has the power upon any such complaint, to alter and annul them at pleasure: so likewise the public companies in London, which are incorporated by charters or acts of parliament, with certain powers to regulate the particular mysteries subservient to their jurisdiction, are yet in general restrained by the antient stat. of 19th of Hen. vii, cap. 7, from making any bye laws or ordonnances, in diminution of
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the King's prerogative, or contrary to the common profit of the realm: for the end and institution of all these incorporated societies, is not to *monopolize*, but to *regulate* those Trades and dealings, which are severally under their visitation and inspection.

As exclusive privileges annexed to public bodies are not to be favoured, much less are grants to private persons to have the *sole use* and *exercise* of any *art* or *mystery*: accordingly it is laid down as a maxim of our constitution, that all *monopolies* are contrary to the *common law of the land*, and the *benefit* and *liberty* of the subject; and with this preamble the stat. 21st of Jac. I. cap. 3. was passed, for the suppression of all such monopolies, grants, and licenses; nevertheless, that a method might be open to reward the discoverers of any new art or mystery in Trade, there is a proviso in the same act, that it should not extend to letters patent and grants of privileges for the term of 14 years, to the *true* and *first inventor*; and yet even this clause must be construed to extend only to the true and first inventor of such a manufacture, as is entirely new, which is neither contrary to law, nor hurtful to Trade, nor mischievous to the state, nor generally inconvenient; so that if any of these properties fail, the privilege is void; and whether all the letters patent now in being could stand the test according to these constructions, must be left to be determined upon the prosecution of those, whose more immediate interest it may be to make them void.

I must here take notice, that although in the absolute government of France, monopolies and exclusive grants are more frequent than in ours, yet to prevent the bad consequences

quences of enhancing the price of any commodities to which they are granted, the price is fixed in the grant itself, beyond which they are not allowed to be sold. Whereas the intent of procuring letters patent in England, is that the proprietor may, by virtue of his being the sole vender, demand whatever exorbitant price he pleases. From hence the following consideration may be offered, whether a recompence by a sum of money paid at once, to make a new invention public, would not be better than the granting letters patent, with sole license to the inventor only to enjoy it? For it seems odd, that the public should reward a person for a beneficial contrivance, in such a manner as must confine the use, and delay the good effects of it: if upon inspection and tryal it be found useful, why should it not be put in common practice, and a national reward may then with good grace be allowed to the inventor, when the nation in general has the immediate opportunity of reaping the profit of his invention.

After enumerating the variety of employments necessary for carrying on Trade, and tracing out the methods by which they may be regulated, towards the advancement of our national stock, I shall forbear to add any remarks on the many other various employments in which numbers of our people are divided, in the service of religion, in the professions of law and physick, and, in the civil and military offices of our government: all that can be suggested from hence, is to wish that in the general distribution of employments, too many may not be engaged in what are called the genteel professions of life, so as to leave too few in the more laborious occupations of husbandry and manufactures:

in this respect, the distribution may perhaps be found more unequal in France than in England; but it is not the intent of this Treatise to find fault with the errors of our rivals in commerce, since that can be of no use to us, except in such instances, where we have been so impolitick as to follow their example; but I am in hopes it may be of some service to point out such of their regulations as deserve our imitation, in order to correct our own errors by the better methods they pursue; or, by adapting our laws more consistently to the general rules and principles laid down for the cultivation of the first necessities of life, the improvement of materials, and the sale of manufactures.

From these maxims and principles which I have recited, we may in general conclude—That as necessity is the mother of inventions, *encouragement* should be the nurse to bring them to perfection;—That *regulations* are necessary to establish their goodness and credit, and *liberty of sale* to promote their consumption. Consequently, by enforcing these general rules, we may procure such a quantity of our products and manufactures, as will answer our home consumption and the demands for foreign exportation. This is the second general head proposed to be considered, and accordingly our next enquiry must be to find out by what principles and rules of policy, we ought to adjust our *foreign commerce*, in order to procure a ballance of riches from abroad, to crown and reward the labour of our people at home.

P A R T II.

Concerning the Advancement of our Commerce
abroad.

THE consideration of FOREIGN COMMERCE is of the utmost importance, since the riches, power, and security of our island chiefly depend upon it: but the methods and arts of guiding it to these ends are nice and various, and must be pursued with great caution and circumspection; for our foreign Trade, like the element on which it is conveyed, often changes and fluctuates with times and seasons, and is attended with different consequences, according to the situations, customs, and habits of different people: we must therefore not only observe the first appearance of every branch, but extend our views to all the turns and circulations, which may remotely tend, either to the diminution or encrease of the national profit.

Under these distinct views, I have endeavoured farther to examine our laws, by those PRINCIPLES and METHODS OF
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POLICY, by which our foreign commerce ought to be settled—First, with regard to the *exportation* and *importation* of all such commodities in which we trade—Secondly, with regard to **the nations** with whom we deal—And lastly, with regard to the methods of *adjusting our general Trade and dealings*, so as to procure the gain and advantage to ourselves upon the general ballance.

The profit and loss of foreign Trade must be computed by the *value* of our exports and imports, and the *number of shipping* employed in our own or foreign service: That Trade which promotes the employment of our people, enlarges the sale of our commodities, and encreases our navigation, must be set down as necessary and profitable; but that which prevents the labour of our people, lessens the consumption of our products, and employs foreign shipping more than our own, must so far be deemed as disadvantageous and hurtful. From hence appears the use and expediency of particular laws, to regulate our several exports and imports, in order to encourage such as are beneficial, and to restrain such as may be unprofitable.

With regard to *exportation*, our first rule must be to grant a *general* and *equal freedom* to the sending out all our manufactures and superfluous unimproveable products, which, in their different degrees, may return an additional wealth to the nation: for although the sale of our staple manufactures made of our own materials, may be more profitable than the sale of our manufactures made of foreign materials, and each of these may yield more than the sale of our unimproved productions, yet we are to consider not only what we can
most

most advantageously supply, but what it is others chiefly want; and accordingly imitate the Dutch, who make up their exports, both as to the variety of their goods, and the different sorts of the same species, so as to serve all markets, and answer the humour of every demand: for whatever we are able at any time to vend abroad, be it the effects of our skill and labour, or the produce of our soil and climate, though by some we may gain more than by others, yet all will contribute upon the whole to the profit of the nation.

THIS FREEDOM OF SALE is the first general principle so often recommended before, and to which we must again recur, and perpetually adhere, in our commerce abroad as well as in our Trade at home: for notwithstanding it may be the arbitrary policy of some countries, as of Spain and Portugal, to limit the exportation of their commodities, in order to enhance the price by the little that is sent abroad; yet it must be considered, that it is the quantity, and not the price, that creates employment to the people; and consequently the national profit will be greater the more is sold, although at a cheaper rate. Nor need we be under any apprehensions that such an unconstrained exportation will occasion any scarcity or want at home; since it is every where found, as I have before observed, that the more the consumption of any commodity is encouraged, the greater will be its encrease, and consequently, the more we annually export, the more it is likely that an annual overplus will be raised for future exportation.

Our superfluous commodities being thus permitted to be sent abroad, without distinction and without restraint, the next maxim must be to promote their sale, by offering them at
their

their *cheapest* rate. This *cheapness*, I have before observed, is more particularly to be recommended in the sale of our commodities at a foreign market, especially if they be such as other competitors are equally capable of producing. Therefore it must be contrary to all policy, to raise their native value by any collateral means of *duties* or *customs* at the port: such duties are indeed imposed by some of our neighbouring kingdoms, on the vain surmise, that the tax upon the export, when the goods are sold abroad, is paid by the foreigners who purchase, and not by the natives who sell; but the question is, whether the goods can be sold at all, when loaded with heavier customs than what are imposed by others who offer the like species to sale; for wherever different nations are trying to outvie each other in the sale of the same kind of productions, the *lowest price* any one offers them at, will be the *market price*, to which all the other sellers must conform, or not trade at all.

For this reason, it has been the constant policy of the commonwealth of Holland, to exempt their exports from all manner of duties at the port: the French also have found themselves obliged to follow the same example; and by several arrêts of council passed within this last century, have moderated the general *tariff* of 1664, in the articles relating to the duties formerly imposed on the exportation of their woollen, linnen, and silk manufactures, which are now permitted to be sent out in a manner custom free. It was therefore surprising that *our exports* should continue so long burthened with the *subsidies of poundage*, and other impositions, as laid on by the statute of the 12th of Car. II. all which were not
clearly

clearly discharged before the year 1721, by the statute of the 8th of Geo. I. cap. 15, which, in section 7, remitted and took off “ all the several and respective *subsidies* and *duties* “ whatsoever, formerly payable upon the exportation of the “ PRODUCE and MANUFACTURE of Great Britain.” These are terms of large latitude, and comprehend (excepting such as are particularly prohibited to be exported) every sort of grain, of provisions, and of materials that are raised, and every species of goods, wares, and merchandize, that are wrought in this kingdom, which may now pass free and unmolested through our ports, without payment of any duty, to be sold according to their destination, in all parts of the world: there is indeed an exception to several particular materials, on which the duties are continued, and continued for political reasons, which I shall presently mention: so that upon the whole, this single short clause may be set down as the most beneficial law that has passed within this last century, for promoting and extending the Trade of Great Britain.

But notwithstanding an exemption at the port, yet the inland duties with which certain commodities are charged, would render them too dear at the foreign market, unless a DRAWBACK be allowed upon their exportation. For whilst the necessity of the state may require such duties on our home consumption, it is certainly a wise precaution not to continue them to the obstruction of our foreign traffick: accordingly, the acts of parliament which impose an excise upon several of our products and manufactures, provide
that

that it shall be remitted upon their being offered for sale abroad ; but this however, I have observed in the first part relating to the excises on the necessaries of life, can have no other effect than to cheapen the particular commodities to which such drawbacks are allowed : whereas our inland duties on our home consumption, by augmenting the price of living, augment the price of all our other merchandizes. But I have just now said, that in order to be upon an equality with our rivals in Trade, we must in general offer our common saleable commodities in all foreign markets, at the same cheap rate, for which they are offered to be sold by others.

This therefore introduces the necessity of enforcing another maxim in policy, a policy perhaps more peculiar to England than to any other nation ; I mean, that of granting a *præmium* or *bounty* upon the *exportation* of several of our productions, that by such an assistance from our government, the trader may be enabled to reduce his price to an equality with any competitors abroad. The bounty upon the exportation of our corn, has more particularly been the means not only of procuring a most profitable return of wealth from foreign countries, but of encreasing the cultivation, so as to afford a cheaper supply to our home consumption, and accordingly from thence has been instrumental to the advancement of our national commerce in general ; thus by a small expence at the first setting out, our government has been repaid by a superabundant recompence upon the close of the ballance at last.

Contrary

Contrary to this system, some other powers in Europe, from an apprehension that such a free vent abroad would occasion an after want at home, have laid such injunctions against any corn being extracted out of their dominions, as to discourage a sufficient cultivation even for their own consumption, so that the inhabitants in some places are almost starved, only for fear of being starved. But the superior policy of our laws have happily guarded against any such dread or hazard, as a *bounty* is only allowed when the corn at home is sold at such an under rate as to denote its plenty, and taken off so soon as its dear-ness betrays a scarcity. Add to this, the power given to the crown to lay an embargo by proclamation against carrying out any corn or provisions, whenever it shall appear to be the public interest to keep it at home.

I have taken notice before, that in France all traffick in corn, even at home, was declared contreband, and not permitted to pass from one province to another without a special license: but they being since apprised of our better policy, in granting a more liberal indulgence towards the joint encrease of husbandry and Trade, have lately been forming new schemes for the improvement of both: academies are erected, and many new projects proposed for the amendment of lands and the encrease of culture, which nevertheless, I have before observed, are never likely to be carried into execution, so long as their lands remain liable to an encrease of taxes in proportion to the encrease of their value; and although ordonnances have been lately published for allowing a free export of corn, at some districts and at some certain seasons, yet how vain are all such local and temporary expedients, whilst the nature of their

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constitution will not admit of that general freedom of sale, which, I have so often laid down, as most essential and necessary for promoting the interest of every Trade both at home and abroad.

Were I to enter into a more minute detail of the advantages we receive from our more general indulgence, I might observe, that the price of our corn here at home, ever since the allowance of a bounty, has been much cheaper than it was before, owing to the greater plenty: a proof of what I have so often repeated, that the more the consumption of any commodity is encouraged, the more will be its produce. I might in the next place refer to the custom-house entries, which will show, that with regard to the quantity, we have for a series of time, usually exported upon an average, more than a million of quarters each year, which, with regard to the price, estimated also upon an average, have annually returned more than a million and a half sterling, remitted to us by foreigners upon the ballance of that Trade. Add to this the advantage of employing our own ships and seamen in the carriage, and the greater employment of our husbandmen by the enlargement of the cultivation, whose wages are paid by the foreign countries that purchase our corn.

From hence it may not be improper to offer a few considerations on behalf of the *landed interest* of this kingdom; that *landed interest*, which, by our native products being exported abroad, has introduced such immense riches to our nation, with this farther circumstance in its favour, that excepting the bounty granted as above, it has never put the government to any expence for its protection, nor has it involved

volved us in any war for its security ; at the same time it pays a most liberal tax, collected by the least burthenfome method, nay, it pays moreover all the duties and excises that are imposed upon the sale of its productions, the amount of which, as the great Mr. Lock has fully proved, falls at last with an accumulated weight upon the land and land-owners. Indeed, upon the whole, we find the connection between Land and Trade so united in their mutual dependencies, that it is difficult to lay a burthen upon the one, which will not be attended with a prejudice to the other. This consideration therefore, should deter us from any attempt to take away or even to lessen the accustomed bounty upon the exportation of our corn, which would not only be prejudicial to the land, but destructive in the end to every other branch of commerce : for as it would discourage the cultivation of our products, it would occasion a greater scarcity ; scarcity of provisions would be attended with dearth of living ; dearth of living with dearth of labour, and so on with all that train of consequences, which, I have before set down, as finally terminating in the loss of all our Trade : but we have found by experience the contrary effects, ever since the bounty has been granted ; and since experience is the surest guide, all innovations upon it must be hazardous to the state. I have enlarged the more upon this point, because such innovations have been lately proposed, under the pretence of saving to the government the great expence, as it is called, of the annual bounty ; but we ought to remember, that it is a rule in commerce, not to spare an expence in one article, which may produce a more than equivalent profit in another. Now the intent of the bounty is to

enable us to sell our corn the cheaper in all foreign markets ; this cheapness quickens the sale, and the encrease of the sale returns an additional profit to the nation ; which, from the greater circulation of riches, and the enlarged payment of other duties and taxes, yields a superabundant recompence to the government for the first cost in setting out.

The like *bounty* as on corn is also necessary upon the same principle to be extended, for promoting the exports of such other *provisions*, of which we may have more than necessary for our home consumption ; and accordingly such are granted upon our beef and pork salted, and upon all fish caught and carried upon the bottom of English vessels navigated by English seamen. I mentioned our *fisheries* in a former article, as part of our necessary provisions, and now, when we come to consider them under the articles of Trade, they must be set down as forming a very material and important branch of foreign commerce ; not only by the sale of the fish, but from the number of seamen and shipping which are encreased from this employment. I have before observed, that the Dutch esteem their fishery as the great golden mine of their commonwealth ; that for Herring only on our coasts, is said to employ several hundred of their ships and vessels, besides many thousands of fishermen and seamen out at sea, and numbers of people maintained at home, in making netts, building vessels, and preparing, curing, and drying their fish. The placards they have published for the regulating these, are almost innumerable, containing directions both as to the seasons, and method of catching, and manner of curing, and making a profitable sale. It seems therefore a most inexcusable

cusable neglect in us, not to reap equal advantages of so immense a treasure, lying so near, and by a natural right so properly belonging to us; especially as the profits arise without any other cost, than the expence of fitting out, salting, and the wages to the seamen for catching. Accordingly, to encrease our share of so profitable an export, we must not only grant the *bounty* upon the export of fish, but re-allow, by way of *drawback*, all the inland duties upon the salt, used in preparing and curing them for sale.

Lastly, our legislature has found it necessary to extend this sort of indulgence, to facilitate the sale even of some of our manufactures, such especially as are set up in opposition to some other rival nation, or composed of materials purchased from abroad, which being worked up at so much the dearer rate, want some public assistance to reduce their price. It was for one or both these reasons, that a bounty was granted upon the British manufactures of silk; the same has also been allowed upon British-made sail-cloth; and the same may be as reasonably expected by way of encouragement to the Irish and British manufactures of linnen and cambricks.

Although an *exemption* from the payment of *duties* upon the exportation, is necessary to promote the sale of such commodities as are sold in common by rival nations, yet a *tax* may be advanced upon the exportation of whatever is *peculiar* to the soil and climate of each respective nation: accordingly, the particular wines of France being much coveted by strangers, are made to pay, besides the inland tax of the aids, a further duty, called the augmented duty, at the last port before they are shipped off: and so likewise the northern king-
doms

doms impose high customs upon the exportation of their pitch, tar, and such other materials of their own produce which are absolutely wanted by others; and it is for the same reason, that the statute of the 8th of Geo. I. cap. 15. beforementioned, has excepted lead, tin, leather, copperas, allum, coals, &c. which still remain liable to the old subsidies of poundage; for as they are products almost peculiar to us, not being found in any great quantities elsewhere, we may venture to put our own price upon them, and oblige those who are under a necessity of being purchasers, to contribute to the encrease of our revenues, as well as to the private profit of the merchant: but we ought however, to be cautious not to raise these duties so high, as to render the commodities too dear for the common markets; for agreeably to the maxims before recommended, whilst it is our *interest to sell*, we should endeavour to make it the *interest of others to buy*; and the greater quantity we are enabled to sell, the greater profit it will be to the nation in general.

Let us also consider, that by selling our native commodities too dear, we not only lessen their sale, but run the hazard of not selling them at all; since by our demanding too high a price, foreigners may attempt to raise the like productions: in order therefore, to prevent others from any enterprizes of searching for lead, tin, or coals in their own grounds, we should endeavour to sell them these commodities so cheap, as to make it not worth their while either to try at home, or seek for them from any other supply but our own.

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Whilst we are thus to encourage the carrying out of our manufactures and unimproveable products, it is incumbent on us, on the other hand, to stop at all events, the exportation of any *raw materials*, capable of *manufacture* or *farther improvement*; since to part with a material capable of manufacture, is to part with the profits of our skill and labour, which, as it is the chiefest cost, so it is the clearest gain upon every merchandize whatsoever: for this reason, in France they prohibit the exportation of hemp, flax, and the threads of hemp and flax, and of all other materials peculiar to the composition of their cambricks and linnen cloths; of grapes pressed or unpressed, with which their wines or vinegars are made; and even of old linnen and rags, as being necessary for their manufacture of paper. And their merchants are enjoined not even to send out any spindles, teazles, or other kind of instruments used in the arts and mysteries of weaving. To the same purpose, our laws have enacted severe penalties upon any persons who shall presume to carry out our wool, woollfells, fullers earth, tobacco pipe clay, raw and untanned hides; and also against those who send away the frames and engines for making and knitting of stockings, and other wearing apparel. These being particularly prohibited, do not come under the general license, enacted by the statute of the 8th of Geo. I. as before recited.

I took notice in the first part, of the complaints made of vast quantities of wool being smuggled away from hence to the neighbouring coasts of France, and of the many schemes and proposals that have been offered for preventing so great and national an evil: yet after all, we shall perhaps find the purpose

pose more easily answered, by encouraging the free sale and exportation of our woollen manufactures, which will consequently require a larger consumption of our materials at home, and turn out the surest and most profitable method of preventing them from being smuggled abroad.

Having thus far taken notice, how the sale of our products may be enlarged by *encouraging* our EXPORTATIONS, agreeably to the principles above laid down, let us next examine how the returns may be made most beneficial, by regulating the IMPORTATIONS: herein let it first be observed, that as the benefit of exports arises from sending out superfluous commodities, so the benefit of the imports must consist in bringing in such as are wanted either through necessity or utility.

The first necessary, and consequently beneficial return, we are to seek for, is that of FOREIGN RAW MATERIALS, capable of being *manufactured* or *improved*; for since our soil doth not afford a variety sufficient to employ all our people, we are obliged to extend our dealings, by working up the materials raised in other climates, and thus engraft foreign stocks upon our Trade, and enrich our own country out of the produce of others: the same reason therefore that should induce us to take off all duties upon the *exportation* of our *manufactures*, ought to prevail with us to take off all duties upon the *importation* of the *several materials* of which they are composed: this rule, the great De Witt, in his political maxims, page 80, observes, is so agreeable to good policy, and the prudence of former ages, that in Holland, they always remitted the duties upon the entry of English wool, foreign yarn, Turkey raw silk, &c. and, in pursuance of

of the same maxim, we have also taken off all duties upon hemp, flax, Spanish and Polonia wool, an exemption which is equally requisite to allow upon all other kinds of raw materials whatsoever, capable of being converted into a manufacture, and upon all those ingredients which are used towards mixing the materials, or finishing the manufacture to its proper gloss and colour; therefore, since to this effect, the statute of the 8th of Geo I. cap 15, hath discharged all the customs upon every species of dying drugs, we have only to lament, that the same indulgence is not extended upon the importation of foreign soaps, oils, pot-ash, &c. for, as I observed in the first part, every tax thus laid upon any *material* or *ingredient*, necessary towards the composition of a MANUFACTURE, is a tax upon the *manufacture itself*, which must enhance the price, and obstruct the sale in every foreign market.

Besides bringing in these materials necessary towards the encrease and perfection of our manufactures, many other beneficial returns are to be made; some for our defence and protection; some for the better carrying on our navigation; some for the support of health; and some to supply our other common conveniencies; all which I cannot pretend so to enumerate, as to suggest what degree of encouragement ought to be allotted to every species: therefore, we must only in general observe, that each of these commodities are to be favoured more or less in proportion as they are absolutely *necessary*, or *useful*, or *convenient*: whatever, on the contrary, shall be introduced merely to indulge our luxury, must be admitted upon no other terms, than either as they come in exchange for our

own products, or have a tendency in the end, to promote some other branch of commerce.

Lastly, the general maxim which prevails over the whole, and has the chief influence towards reducing the price of whatever we import, is enforced by our famous act of navigation, which enacts, that “ no goods or merchandizes of
“ Europe shall be brought into England by any other ships,
“ than such as shall come directly from the ports of that
“ country in which the said goods or merchandizes first grew,
“ or were made, or from whence such goods are usually
“ shipped for transportation.” By this clause, Dutch goods can only be brought from Holland, French goods from France, Spanish goods from Spain, and so from every other country, the products only of that country: by which means, we not only procure their respective goods at the first hand and cheapest rate, with regard to commission, freight, and prime cost; but prevent other nations from interposing with us, in the Trades which we can carry on ourselves by a shorter and more direct communication.

But though we allow upon these terms the importation of whatever may be necessary, useful, or convenient, as above distinguished, we must exert our utmost endeavours to prevent, upon any terms, the IMPORTATION of such goods as may interfere with the *home consumption* or *sale* of *our own staple manufactures*. Upon this principle, we long ago prohibited the importation of foreign woollen cloths, and of tin, iron, and leaden wares. In France they are yet more rigid, declaring it contreband to import any foreign manufactures whatever that may interfere with their

own;

own: such are all silks and stuffs of gold and silver, or silks mixed with cotton; all stained or dyed stuffs called druggets; looking-glasses of all sizes, and Venice points; all linnen and cotton works from India, unless for immediate re-exportation: and add to these the many severe penalties that are enforced for prohibiting of salt, or oyl, or blubber, to be brought from any other country whatsoever. But above all, they are more particularly severe in their injunctions against the introduction of any English manufacture, in which they have proceeded by degrees with great art and policy, not venturing at the total prohibition, until they were sure of not wanting our assistance. To mention only one article which has affected us the most, we may find the English woollen cloths, when that manufacture was first set up in France, were subject only to a slender duty by the *tariff* of 1654; this was afterwards raised 10 per cent. by the *tariff* of 1664; and, as the manufacture encreased in that country, the duties were doubled by the *tariff* of 1669; till at last, finding they had advanced so far as to be able to make sufficient both for their home consumption and foreign exportation, they have now laid them under an entire prohibition. To retaliate for this, we have also imposed such high duties as amount almost to the like prohibition of their manufactures, the importation of which has been declared by some of our statutes to be even a *nuisance* to this kingdom. With regard to other nations, and other manufactures which do not interfere with our staple, such severity may perhaps be improper, lest we provoke them to an equal retaliation; and therefore, we should venture no farther than to impose such duties upon the entry of their manufactures, as may keep

their price rather above our own ; for total prohibitions on one side, will be answered by total prohibitions on the other ; whereas, with nations whose interest it is to trade with each other, mutual dealings will always demand mutual indulgencies.

But after all, it will be best for us to resort to that main principle of encouraging the consumption of our own manufactures, as the best and most effectual means to prevent the importation of what is foreign : the French, by the example of the court, the fashion of their country, and their natural vanity and love for whatever is their own, live mostly on their own products, and dress in their own manufactures ; whilst our fondness for the wines, brandies, silks, laces, linnens, and other products and manufactures of our neighbours, makes us accessory to the promotion of their interest, and the destruction of our own ; for so long as our affectation in using foreign commodities prevails, they will be run in upon us in spite of all our prohibitory and penal laws, which indeed are but superficial remedies ; nor can the ends proposed by them be otherwise effectually obtained, than by beginning sooner, and recommending in the first instance, *æconomy* and good example in the **GENERAL USE and CONSUMPTION of OUR OWN PRODUCTIONS.**

Having thus adjusted the importation of what is beneficial and necessary to be consumed at home, we must next proceed to regulate that other branch of Trade which consists in the **IMPORTATION** of such foreign goods as are brought in and landed here only for a time, in order to be **RE-EXPORTED** and sold again at an advanced price to other countries : this

is what the French call *le commerce d'entrepôt*, wherein the merchant may get large profits to himself, by an intermediate assistance to others; but that the difference of his gains may center here, the public must be careful to limit and direct these general dealings, that they may not interrupt nor anticipate the particular traffick of our own native commodities: to this purpose therefore, I beg leave to mention some GENERAL RULES, together with the *exceptions* that may be offered to them, it requiring great nicety to distinguish in what instances and to what degree we may remit the duties paid upon the importation, when the same goods are intended to be sent out again and sold in other countries.

For first, if the foreign goods brought in on purpose for re-exportation, are such as *we are capable of making ourselves*, it must then be our policy *not to remit* any part of the duties paid upon their entrance, because there is no reason, as it is expressed in one of our statutes, “ that it should be more
 “ profitable to export foreign goods beyond the seas than
 “ such as are made in this kingdom, which would happen
 “ in case the exporter be allowed to draw or receive back on
 “ exportation all or any part of the duties paid or payable on
 “ the said commodities, on the importation of the same.” Wherefore it was enacted, that no foreign lutestrings or alammodes should be entitled to any drawback; so likewise no repayment of custom is to be allowed on any wares made of wrought iron or steel in foreign parts; nor is any re-allowance to be made on foreign cordage and cable yarn; nor on the re-exportation of foreign made sail-cloth: observe in all these instances, they are manufactures which we are now capable
 of

of making ourselves ; and therefore, whenever such are introduced from abroad in order to be sent abroad again, of whatever species they are, we should retain the duty paid inwards, by which we not only encourage our own manufactures, but procure an addition to the public revenue, by a duty which is paid by foreigners : the Dutch, who interpose so largely in the Trade of every country, pursue this maxim by one general impost, charging foreign goods upon importation at 1 per cent. *ad valorem*, and demanding 2 per cent. more upon their re-exportation ; so that every species of a foreign manufacture has ~~this~~ additional weight in its price more than their own, and also leaves 3 per cent. clear profit to their state, charged upon the subjects of that kingdom to which the goods are sold.

The next rule to be observed, is, that though the *raw materials* which are necessary to be brought hither towards the make or completion of any manufacture, ought to be exempted from any duty when intended for *our own use*, in pursuance of the maxim before laid down, yet if the same should *not be worked up here*, but offered to be sent out in the same *unimproved* condition to another place, a *duty* then should be laid upon it, because we ought by all means to hinder others from having these implements as cheap as we can procure them, in order to disable them so far from manufacturing the same as cheap as we may do ; with this view, the statute of the 8th of Geo. I. cap. 15. mentioned before, takes notice,
 “ that foreign goods used in dying, being imported duty free,
 “ would tend to the encouragement of manufactures in foreign parts, should the same be again carried out of the
 “ kingdom

“ kingdom without paying any duty, whereby they might be
 “ sold so much the cheaper ;” and therefore, by sect. 11, a
 subsidy of six-pence is imposed upon every twenty shillings
 value, according to the rates therein after mentioned.

Whilst we so rightly pursue the maxims in this instance, it
 may seem wonderful that we should neglect them in any
 other, I mean particularly with respect to foreign soaps, which
 although so necessary to be used in our *manufæctures*, yet both
 pay a large duty inwards, and are allowed a drawback to the
 full of that duty upon *re-exportation*.

From hence let us turn to a remark on the other side, that
 if a *duty inwards* is imposed on any *raw material* which shall
 afterwards be worked up, and the manufacture of which it is
 composed is intended for exportation, then such inward duty
 paid for the material so worked up, should be *re-allowed* and
 taken off, in order to reduce the price of the manufacture
 abroad, so as to come within the maxims before laid down.

But this again must be subjected to an exception, that it
 be such a *material* as cannot be produced in our *own* kingdom
 in any sufficient abundance ; for if a charge be laid on a fo-
 reign material, by reason that we are capable of raising the
 same ourselves, in some degree, though not in full proportion
 to the demand of the manufacture, in that case, we must
 except against granting any such remittance of duty, because
 it is our interest to yield greater encouragement to the manu-
 facture made of *our own* growth, than to that which is work-
 ed up with the materials of a *foreign produce*.

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The last observation to be offered under this head, relates to those merchandizes which are brought by long sea voyages from the several parts of Asia, Africa, and America, in which we and some of our neighbours equally strive to interpose, in order to supply ourselves and the common markets of Europe with products which cannot be raised in this part of the globe: in such a rivalry of Trade, it is easy to apprehend what advantage they have who are capable of selling the same species at the cheapest rates: it is well known that great part of the wealth of Holland consists in its large magazines of Indian commodities, especially of drugs and spices, which lie exempted from all duties and customs, and are therefore the more readily dispersed abroad at the lowest prices: the French have fallen into the same method of policy, by several arrêts of council made in favour of their East India Trade, permitting all muslins, cottons, and calicoes to be brought in and sent out without payment of any custom; the like indulgence is granted to their American products, for the encouragement of the settlements in those parts.

In order therefore to keep up our interest in these branches of commerce, in some measure upon a level with our neighbours, we are obliged to allow a *drawback* on the inland duties laid upon coffee and tea, and upon calicoes, drugs, and China ware brought from the East, and upon tobacco brought from our western settlements; which indulgence we ought farther to extend to every kind of merchandize, raised and brought from all our other colonies and plantations, to be vended in common at the markets nearer home; for there is nothing we need apprehend from our rivals, but their
ability

ability of underselling us; and nothing can more effectually prevent them from underselling us, than the discharging our heavier impositions, and leaving these common saleable commodities to their natural price, as before recommended. This is the more necessary, as some of these productions, particularly sugars, are raised at much greater cost in our own, than in the French colonies.

From what has been thus observed upon the foregoing *principles*, with regard to our Exports and Imports, we are to infer, that all our laws and policy ought to be subservient to the following ends and purposes—First, to encourage the EXPORTATION of all our *wrought manufactures* and superfluous *unimproveable* commodities; but, on the other hand, to prevent the *exportation* of all our *raw* products, capable of being *improved or manufactured*—Secondly, to allow the IMPORTATION of such *foreign materials* as are either *necessary, useful, or convenient*; but, on the contrary, to discourage the bringing in of *such products or manufactures* which *we* can raise or make ourselves—And lastly, to admit the RE-EXPORTATION of what is *foreign*, so as not to *interrupt* nor *anticipate* the sale of *our native* commodities.

Upon considering the expediency of enforcing the maxims as above recapitulated, it must give us the utmost concern to find several *duties* at our ports imposed to satisfy rather the public exigency of our government, than to regulate the interest of our foreign commerce: and what is worse, these parts of our revenues, which are distinguished under the title of *customs*, are appropriated to answer so many different demands, and paid under such various denominations, as must create

great perplexity to those who are ready to satisfy the net duty. It would certainly therefore be more satisfactory to the merchants, to have all the payments of these duties at the port, reduced to some one *fixed method of payment*.

To this purpose the edict in France, which established the *sariff* of 1664, after reciting the many inconveniencies which before that time arose from the confused methods of levying the duties at the port, ordains, that all such impositions should be changed and reduced, and remain reduced to one single rate, payable by all sorts of people, without any pretence of exemption whatsoever. Thus also, the general placard which was passed in Holland in the year 1725, takes notice, “ that
 “ all the former ordonnances published from time to time in
 “ that republic, concerning the levying and paying the con-
 “ voys and licenses, or the duties inwards and outwards, as
 “ also the *left geldt*, or impositions on ships, had not prevented
 “ both natives and foreigners from defrauding those revenues;
 “ and since they had not been able to preserve that order and
 “ unanimity which the public service required, by the disco-
 “ very and punishment of the frauds which had been so
 “ committed; therefore, and for the remedy of such abuses,
 “ for the good of their country, the augmentation of their
 “ Trade, and the justification of the fair dealer, &c. they
 “ thought it most proper to establish by that placard, several
 “ new regulations to be observed;” not only reducing thereby
 their duties at the port, but ordering the payment to be made
 in so clear a method, as at once to contribute both to the *ease*
 of the merchant, and the *benefit* of Trade.

With

With regard to contreband dealings, and running of goods without payment of any duty at all, these illicit methods, so prejudicial both to the government and the fair trader, we, as well as the French and Dutch, have endeavoured to suppress, by many penal laws; but notwithstanding all such precautions, so many new frauds and abuses are from time to time contrived, as to render the management of this revenue, the most difficult task upon the administration; it being much more easy to make laws to this purpose, than to enforce their execution.

The method perhaps the most effectual, to prevent any attempts of such frauds, is to lessen the duty; for when the tax demanded is so low, as to make but a small difference in the price of the sale, it will not be worth the while of any to run the hazard of smuggling; since experience has shown us, in many instances, that by taking off half the custom, the revenue has been more than doubled by the greater importation.

I have at the beginning of this chapter, mentioned the expediency of laws to regulate our exports and imports, in such a manner as to encourage the Trades that are beneficial, and restrain such as may be prejudicial: to this purpose, customs are established wherever commerce subsists, which should both be so disposed, as not to interfere the one with the other, as they ought jointly to contribute to the revenues of the state, and the benefit of the nation in general. In this respect, great dexterity must be required in the management of his majesty's customs, particularly as to the time and manner of entring and clearing all ships, either coming in or outward bound, and the preventing goods from being relanded

upon which drawbacks have been received. To compass all which, such rigid rules must be made, and so severe a discipline enjoined, as may not perhaps co-incide with our national and darling principle of liberty and freedom of commerce. Let us however, as far as the exigency of our government will permit, endeavour to regulate our customs in such a manner, as may facilitate the sale of what we send abroad, and admit of an easy introduction of what we want at home, and so proportion the rates, according to the maxims before laid down, that the most beneficial exports and imports may be encouraged, and those which are less necessary may be less indulged.

But whatever rules and regulations may be laid down in adjusting our customs at the port, in order to make them beneficial to the foreign commerce of our own country, yet we shall find farther difficulties in their execution, with regard to other nations: since every independant country with whom we traffick, is governed by the same principles, and directed by the like motives of self-interest, from whence there must arise frequent emulations, jealousies, and mutual oppositions.

With respect therefore to other *nations with whom we deal*, which is the next point to be considered, great nicety is required to distinguish where to enforce, or where relax the rigour of our laws; since our regard to their intervening interests, must be proportioned to the quantity of commodities they purchase from us, or the necessity we are under to take any particular kind of their growth and produce: mutual wants will engage a mutual dependance, and consequently a mutual

mutual Trade upon equal terms: but when the necessity is not mutual, and the interest does not happen to co-incide, the communication ought to be restrained, and the want supplied by a more extensive intercourse with others. How far the support of one nation is necessarily dependant on the assistance of another, may easily be guess'd at from the difference of their situation, wants, and demands; from whence the interest of each may be supported, by the exchange of their respective various products, and distinct staple manufactures, which the one may want, and the other is capable of supplying.

To carry on such an exchange upon equal terms, must be the first fair condition of Trade between nation and nation; so that whenever it is our interest to deal with others, we should consent to make it equally their interest to deal with us; and we consequently have a right to expect the same indulgence from them, whenever they have a like interest of their own to gratify: thus in general, if we take from France, Portugal, Spain, and Italy, their wines, brandies, silks, oils, and fruit; from Germany, Flanders, and Holland, their linnens, laces, and cambricks; from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Russia, their iron, copper, deals, hemp, tar, and furs; it is but reasonable to expect, that each of them in return, should accept from us a proportion of our lead, tin, leather, and woollen manufactures. From hence it must appear, that a mutual assistance is the only foundation for a mutual traffick, by which we ought all to use our common endeavours, according to the Dutch proverb, both to live ourselves, and let others live.

In order to support such a constant intercourse of Trade, treaties of commerce have been often concluded, by which it is generally stipulated, that the subjects of each state are to use and enjoy all the privileges and immunities, which any other nation, the most favoured, use and enjoy : but however, no great stress can be laid on these public assurances, which subsist no longer than whilst they execute themselves, by being agreeable to the humour and interests of both parties, but can never force nor divert the course of Trade from its natural flow and current ; which, as I just now observed, will always tend to those markets which take off the largest quantity of our products, and yield us back what we want to supply ourselves withal, upon the most moderate terms.

Since therefore, it is expedient, in pursuance of the principles before laid down, to have laws at home, to limit this channel of Trade to the importation of such commodities only as are necessary, useful, or convenient ; so when these can be obtained equally alike from different places, our rule then must be to give the preference to what is offered by any particular nation, in proportion to the quantity of our commodities exported to that nation.

Holland takes supplies from every country, and consequently is able to supply every country with what they may want to take from others ; for the Dutch having but little of their own growth, interpose so much in the Trade of all foreign commodities, that what one nation would buy of another, may be obtained from the general stores in Holland. It was therefore our interest long ago, to restrain them from interfering too much in those Trades which we were equally capable

capable of carrying on : for which reason, the act of navigation prohibits the introduction of foreign goods and commodities, unless from the places *of their own growth and production*, or from whence such goods are *usually shipped* for transportation. Beyond this it may not be proper for us to be rigorous in our oppositions to so natural an ally, since we gain great profits by importing from thence many necessaries which we cannot directly procure from other places ; and they make great advantages by selling to others what they purchase from us : it must besides appear from many other political considerations, that our mutual safety and happiness, depends on our mutual prosperity in commerce and navigation.

On the other hand, France being so well replenished within itself, makes but slender demands for any of our commodities ; and is able to supply us only with such as are of mere luxury, and tend to prevent the consumption of our own products and manufactures : we have been obliged therefore to limit and restrain such an intercourse, by more heavy duties and impositions upon all their commodities ; for if we were to lay no more customs on the goods brought from thence, than what are payable on the like kind imported from any other country in Europe, we should soon find that a traffick with them on such equal terms, would in the end prove, as the preamble of some of our former prohibitory laws declared it, a detriment and a nuisance to this kingdom : it is for this reason, that all kinds of French commodities are chargeable over and above all other duties, with an impost after the rate of 25 per cent. and if such commodities are of the growth, produce, or manufacture of France, they are doubly loaded with a second duty

duty of 25 per cent. more ; excepting only their wines and vinegars ; in return for which, they have extended their restraint upon our commerce, even to a prohibition of all kinds of merchandize whatsoever, if brought thither from our coasts : this restriction however, is what we must be content with, since what some would call a mutual indulgence, in any degree, would only prove a loss to us, and a gain to them.

With respect to other European nations, such a medium may be observed, as that they who open their ports for our commodities, may find from us a mutual acceptance of theirs : thus whilst Spain and Portugal continue to admit our fish and woollen cloths at low and settled customs, and suffer the privileges granted to our merchants residing there, to remain entire and unmolested ; we, on our parts, ought to allow an equal unrestrained importation of all their products ; and this we may afford, even upon the entry of their wines and fruits, though commodities of mere luxury, when thus introduced in exchange for our own superfluities.

However there are some countries, who having peculiar productions absolutely necessary for our use, are therefore entitled to make higher demands upon us, agreeably to the principle mentioned before ; with whom it is nevertheless our interest to deal, even upon their own terms, rather than want the material ; for example, although we purchase raw silk from Piedmont with ready money, they refusing to take our goods in return ; yet by our improvement of that material into a manufacture, we make ourselves more than amends upon the ultimate account : and so we find it our interest to buy
naval

naval stores, even at a high rate, from the northern countries, as being necessary to support our navigation ; from whence, by the subsequent Trade to all other parts of the world, we gain advantages infinitely superior to our first cost ; notwithstanding which, if such neighbouring kingdoms insist upon too exorbitant terms, they must not be surpris'd to find us endeavouring to supply ourselves with the like kind of commodities, from longer voyages and remoter climates : and it is for this reason, that we favour the importation of copper from Africa, rather than from Sweden ; and grant a bounty on hemp and flax, and all naval stores produced in our colonies, by way of preference to what is offered from Russia.

From these instances of what is offered, or what refused by our neighbours and competitors, we see the necessity of extending our dealings to the other more distant parts of the world, in order to procure a larger vent for our own products and manufactures, and get a cheaper supply of what we want, than can be obtained nearer home. For these reasons, long sea voyages are undertaken to the several parts of Asia, Africa, and America, in order to sell the various kinds of our fine and coarse cloths, and other manufactures in toys, watches, and curiosities of skill and workmanship, and to bring back such productions of their soils and climates, as are either useful for our own consumption, or serviceable to our future Trade with others ; such as raw silks, dying and physical drugs from Turkey and the Levant ; gold dust, ivory, and copper from Guinea ; silver bullion, cocoa, indigo, and cochineal from the Spanish West Indies ; silks, callicoes, coffee, tea, China ware saltpetre, drugs, and spices from the East Indies and China :

all which, though some of them are commodities of mere luxury, we bring into this part of the world, to prevent, in the first instance, the loss that would accrue if we bought the same kind of commodities at second hand from our neighbours; and, in the next place, to make a profit by re-exporting, at an advanced price, what may be more than sufficient for our own consumption.

It has been observed by some writers on this subject, that an immense treasure would be saved to this part of the globe, if instead of such a competition in the East India Trade, all Europe would mutually consent to forsake it; because the bulk of our exports thither, is chiefly made up of silver bullion; and the returns brought back, are for the most part perishable commodities, of mere luxury, or such manufactures as have proved prejudicial to those which are made in Europe; insomuch that both we and the French, have some time since been obliged to prohibit our subjects from wearing any Indian wrought silks and calicoes, &c. admitting their entrance on no other condition, than that of being re-exported to other parts: but since there is so great a rivalry, to supply the demands constantly made for these foreign luxuries, should any one of these competitors give over the Trade, it would throw too great a ballance of profit into the scale of the other; so that in this mutual struggle, we may compute the loss *we create* to others, and the loss *we prevent* from ourselves, as a part of the *gain* which is to be procured in our share of the general intercourse.

Let

Let me add, that by these long adventures, we so far encrease our navigation, as to exert a naval power in all parts of the world; under the influence of which, by extending our commerce to the more distant territories, we gain such a superiority in the competition with other rivals, as greatly to enlarge even our European Trade.

Thus it will appear, that our dealings with any particular nation, doth not barely consist in selling our own products, and taking what originally belonged to them, but that a considerable branch of commerce is carried on, as before mentioned, by importing the merchandize of one place, in order to sell the same in another. By which kind of interposition, several kingdoms and states, according to their situations and different opportunities, do really assist each other, whilst they are only pursuing their own distinct interests.

From hence we are to calculate the benefit of our African Trade, which not only consists in the importation of the natural products of that country, in exchange for the manufactures of our own, but also in the returns we make in the traffick of Negroe slaves, sold to our colonies and plantations, towards raising their productions of sugar, cotton, and tobacco; which productions being brought to England, take off in exchange a greater quantity of our commodities and manufactures. It has been computed that we may even procure a profit by supplying the French and Spaniards with these African slaves, for although at the first appearance it may look like assisting our rivals with materials, without which they could not raise the productions of their plantations, yet, as by such assistance they are enabled to purchase

provisions, lumber, and horses from our colonies, these, by being so much the more enriched by such a traffick, are enabled to take so much the more of our British commodities and manufactures. Thus, in the great circle, a superlucration of wealth is added to our kingdom, gained out of the Trade of other nations. And, for this reason, it is a right policy in our government, to grant supplies for the erecting and maintenance of forts and garrisons on the coasts of Africa, that we may preclude others, as much as possible, from interposing in the original branches of this beneficial and extensive commerce.

But in whatever circulations we may be obliged to move, towards procuring the ballance of Trade, in competition with foreign independant kingdoms; yet, as we have territories of our own near adjoining, and colonies and plantations in America subject to our dominion, we may, by a more natural communication, support and encrease our mutual interests; for whatever we can supply them with, or they us, is so much saved out of the loss which would happen to both, by purchasing the same from foreigners.

Here then let it be considered, that all subjects living under the same allegiance, are equally entitled to the same protection; and to such indulgence in the enjoyment of their religion, liberties, Trade, and properties, as is consistent with the Trade and welfare of the country to whom they owe their allegiance, and from whom they receive their protection. If we oppress those who are dependant on us, we must expect to lose all their confidence and good will, which of consequence will expose us to more hazard, and oblige us to be
at

greater expence to keep them under our subjection. On the other hand, these indulgencies are to be so limited, as the welfare of our subjects abroad, may not be inconsistent with the welfare of those at home ; for since they are dependant on us for their security and protection, we have a right to direct their Trade in such a manner, as to make their interest subservient to the interest of their mother country. It is upon this foundation that Ireland is prohibited from exporting any of its full wrought manufactures of wool, and more especially from sending it out raw and unimproved, if happily that could be prevented ; because such a Trade in that country, would certainly interfere, and be prejudicial to the staple manufacture of this kingdom : nor do we suffer our colonies in America to traffick with us in any other products, but such as are peculiar to their soil and climate, and different from our own.

So likewise our act of navigation, which I shall hereafter more fully enlarge upon, has enjoined, “ that no goods or
 “ commodities shall be imported into or exported out of
 “ any territories belonging to his majesty in Asia, Africa,
 “ or America, nor from any of them into England, except
 “ in English built ships, and navigated by English sailors ;”
 with this farther restriction, “ that the several sorts of goods
 “ therein enumerated, as being of the growth and produc-
 “ tion of our plantations, shall not be shipped or transported
 “ from thence to any land, island, territory, or dominion
 “ whatsoever, except to some other English plantation, or
 “ directly to England :” and, on the other hand, “ no com-
 “ modities of the growth, production, or manufacture of any
 “ part

“ part of Europe, is to be imported to any of his majesty’s
 “ territories in Asia, Africa, or America, unless they be first
 “ brought hither and laden and shipped from England, and
 “ carried directly from hence to the said territories or plan-
 “ tations.” So that whatever products our colonies raise,
 which may be saleable in other parts, must be brought into
 England, in order to be from hence re-exported ; or whatever
 productions or manufactures of Europe our colonies may want
 in return, must be taken from hence, and from hence only.
 For should we allow them a general liberty to carry their
 growth directly to other European markets, or to make
 any exchange from thence, of commodities to be consumed
 amongst themselves, without our interposition, they might
 in time engross such a separate Trade, as would make their
 interest independant of their mother country.

To this rule, we have of late been induced to make some
 exceptions, by allowing rice to be shipped from Carolina, di-
 rectly to any part of Europe, southward of Cape Finisterre ;
 and our plantation sugars to be consigned to the northern
 ports, without stopping at ours. For it seems, whilst these
 commodities continued encumbered with the charge of duties
 payable here, and of the landing, re-shipping, commission,
 and additional freight, their price was so enhanced, as gave
 the French, who had some time before indulged their colonies
 in carrying on such a direct Trade, an opportunity of under-
 selling us at all those markets : these indulgencies however,
 are only to be granted upon the like motives, and to be taken
 off whenever such pretences shall cease ; for our government
 must be extremely cautious not to suffer any innovations upon
 those

those general rules and principles, by which our colonies and plantations are to be kept in their due and proper lines of dependance and subordination.

Herein we find many and great difficulties, as our colonies on the continent of America, instead of being equally alike under our controul, are divided into distinct and separate powers, consisting of the royal, the proprietary, and the charter governments, without any uniformity in their religions, or their civil and military establishments, or even in their commercial interests; hence it is that upon any emergency, where the assistance of the whole may be necessary, we lie under the same disadvantages in America as we do in Europe, by being obliged to form a confederate alliance, to oppose the more united effort of a single power: on the other hand, this very disunion of our colonies amongst themselves, may be a security to us of their not joining together, to throw off their dependancy upon our sole government.

Fresh difficulties may yet arise from the increase of these colonies by any new acquisitions; since their extent in time may grow, if not too potent, yet too unweildy for our direction. For although I have laid it down in the introduction, as a right policy to plant colonies in other climates, to which our superfluous people who cannot subsist at home may resort for employment; yet, when our possessions abroad shall be so enlarged as to demand a greater number of people from hence than can be spared, in such a case, policy, like charity, should begin at home, and justify our refusal of that supply to others, which we may hereafter want ourselves.

In

In the next place, if the enlargement of our inland acquisitions should not be attended with an enlargement of our navigation, so much the less shall we be able to protect them, or they deserve our protection. The French, in order to prevent their subjects from wandering too far into the interior parts of those distant countries, made use of a policy, well deserving our imitation, by forbidding any habitations or settlements to be fixed beyond the lines, which were circumscribed to be under the protection of certain forts erected for that purpose: after all, these continental acquisitions should not be so much the object of our conquest, as other maritime territories which may encrease our navigation as well as commerce. Let us however, in all instances, recur to the maxims I have so often repeated, not to suffer our colonies wherever they may be settled, to engage in such employments or such Trades, as may lessen our employments or interfere with our Trade at home; for should they attempt to supply themselves, or meet us at a foreign market with such products or manufactures which we have the first right to supply, they must expect us to assume that sovereign right, like all other superior powers, of controuling any pretence of their entering into a competition with us: upon the whole, it should ever be the policy of a British administration, to take care, that the primary interest of the mother country, do not give way to the secondary interest of any of its dependants.

Our American settlements being limited to these conditions, with respect to their Trade with us and other parts of Europe, ought to be encouraged at large in their mutual intercourse with one another; for however slender their profits may be to each,

each, yet a double advantage will accrue to us ; but where their profits are not likely to be mutual, let the permission be extended to their trading with any foreign American colony of another nation, where more profitable terms may be procured ; for it is no advantage to us that one of our dependants should be a gainer by the loss of another, especially if that loss can be prevented by their trafficking with a foreign neighbour. It was upon this principle we indulged the northern colonies to carry lumber to the French, and take returns in molasses, notwithstanding the opposition made to it by our sugar plantations.

Whilst our colonists and planters remain quiet and peaceable under these reciprocal conditions, they are entitled, in all other respects, to the same liberties and indulgencies which their fellow subjects enjoy in this country : our government therefore should reconcile their affections to it, by forbearing to levy any burthensome impositions on their Trades, and by protecting them in the enjoyment of their religions and properties, with freedom of sale, and right of inheritance ; that they may be an asylum, not only to our subjects incapable of subsisting here, but to the oppressed subjects of other countries. And whilst we can induce them to take from us, the manufactures which they use, and we can make ; and they are able to supply us with the necessary products which we want, and they can raise ; we shall mutually assist each other ; and the encrease of their Trade and wealth abroad, will necessarily encrease our Trade and wealth at home.

From these observations on the interests of the different people with whom we have any dealings, not only regarding each particular Trade, as it is carried on with each particular nation, but by a more general inspection, examining the remote tendencies, as well as first appearance of every branch of commerce, we may discover, that every distinct traffick, hath both a distinct interest of its own, and some collateral alliance to all the rest; their dependancies being such, that a profit by one, will often occasion a loss in another; and, in some instances, a loss by one, will be the cause of gain in another: we shall also find, that there are some Trades which must be carried on, not so much with a view to clear a profit to ourselves, as to prevent their being too much engrossed by others; for whatever any dealing adds to our stock, or what it prevents us from losing, must be set down in our account, as one and the same.

This will lead us in the last place to consider the methods of *adjusting* our *general Trade* and *dealings*, so as to procure the national advantage to our own country upon the ultimate ballance of accounts.

To this end, our principal point, pursuant to the true spirit of a commercial nation, must be to add the profit of *navigation* to the profit of our *foreign Trade*; there being such a connection between foreign Trade and navigation, that the one cannot be carried on without the help of the other, and both must unite to form the naval power of any kingdom. Upon this system was founded our act of navigation, stiled by foreigners, the great palladium of the English commerce, which, agreably to the maxim above laid down, has enacted,
 “ that

“ that no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported
 “ into or exported out of any territories belonging to his ma-
 “ jesty in Asia, Africa, or America, nor from any of them
 “ into England, but in such ships as do truly belong to his
 “ majesty’s subjects, and are English built, and whereof the
 “ masters, and three fourth of the mariners at least, are
 “ English.” It farther adds, “ that no merchandize of the
 “ growth of the other parts of Asia, Africa, and America,
 “ shall be brought into our territories, in any other shipping
 “ than such as are above specified.”

From hence arose the necessity of building a greater number of English ships, and employing an additional number of English seamen, to support a navigation so much enlarged; and which has ever since been encreasing in proportion to the encrease of our dependant colonies, or any other distant part dependant on them. Therefore, that a supply of hands might not be wanting, to answer the demands of so extensive a navigation, it is farther provided, that our fisheries and our coasting Trade, the two great nurseries for the breed of seamen, should also be carried on only by English ships, navigated by English seamen.

By these methods, it was the policy of our ancestors, to unite to the benefit of the mother country, the Trade and navigation of all those distant parts who were under our own dominions; but there was a farther policy necessary, which was to controul our more near neighbours in Europe from interfering with their navigation in any branch of commerce, which we ourselves might carry on by means of our navigation.

To this purpose, the above act enforced another maxim, of which I have taken notice more than once before ; I mean that of procuring what we want, *directly* from the place of its *original growth*. This maxim was the more necessary to be enforced at a time when the Dutch, by interposing in all the Trades of Europe, had laid up stores and magazines of all the different commodities of each, in order to gain an intermediate profit, by making their country the common market for the goods of all others : how fatal then was it, to find themselves counteracted by that clause of the act, which forbids “ all goods of foreign produce or manufacture to be brought into England, from any other places but those of its own growth or manufacture.”

To avail ourselves yet farther of this advantage, another master-piece of policy was established, by directing that none of the goods enumerated in the 8th section of this act, should be brought into England, even from the places of their own growth, “ in any ships, but such as were English built, and navigated by English sailors ; except ships of the built of that country from which the goods can only be, or usually are shipped for transportation ; and whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners are of the said country :” these exceptions seem to be so artfully contrived, as to command, as it were, a preference to the English navigation ; considering how many circumstances must unite, to admit of any such goods being brought in upon foreign bottoms ; for some countries may have such manufactures and products, but no ships of their own built ; others may have shipping, but no such natural commodities ; and others may have both ships and commodities,

commodities, but not a sufficient number of mariners to navigate; in all or either of which circumstances, whoever will import such goods, must employ English ships to transport them, English sailors to navigate them, and pay English agents or merchants the charge both of the freight and commission.

These conditions however, in their full extent, might have proved inconvenient to ourselves, since we often want many necessary materials which are produced in such countries to whom we cannot send our own shipping, and who have no ships of their own to send to us; and therefore we must be obliged to accept their products, from those by whom they are chiefly engrossed; and this was the reason for adding the latter proviso to the clause, which permits the introduction of such goods, though not coming directly from the place of their original growth, if brought from those ports from whence they are usually shipped for transportation: upon this account also the 14th section of the same statute, allows us to bring from Spain and Portugal, not only their own, but the produce of their respective plantations in America; and so likewise by several subsequent acts of parliament, the importation of East India spices is admitted from Holland, if brought in our own shipping; and rice and sugars are permitted to be carried from our colonies directly to several other parts of Europe, without being obliged first to bring them hither.

These instances being excepted, we should be extremely careful not to deviate farther from the general rules and principles of our act of navigation, which I have been thus particular

ticular in reciting, in order to show how the policy of it is combined in every point, towards the great intent of encreasing both our Trade and navigation; for with respect to *Trade*; by employing our own ships, we first save the expence of freight in what we import, and charge it on what we export, and thereby procure an additional profit in whatever we trade, and with whomsoever we deal; and, in the next place, by taking no goods but what are brought from the places of their original growth, we buy what we want at the first hand, and at prime cost, and make it doubly answer, both by what we gain ourselves, and by what we prevent others from gaining. Again, with regard to our *navigation*, this act has obliged us to build and employ such numbers of ships and seamen, that we not only have a sufficiency to navigate our own Trades, but are become the carriers for others, even where we have no Trade ourselves. Add to this, that by thus encreasing our navigation, we have encreased that naval power, which has given us the superiority of force at sea, beyond all our rival neighbours.

We find about the æra that this act was proposed, the French had made no other efforts to support their navigation than the establishment of the *tariff* of 1664, which after a long and pompous preamble, imposed the 50 sols per ton on all foreign ships entering into their ports; upon which we immediately made a retaliation, by the 9th and 17th section of the above statute, which declare all the wines of France imported into this kingdom shall be deemed aliens goods, unless brought in by English shipping; and obliging every French ship coming into our ports to pay 5 shillings per ton,

to

to continue so long as the duty of 50 sols per ton should be collected on our shipping in their ports; but within this last century the French have made some more successful attempts to the great encrease of their marine, by enjoining, in imitation of our act, that two thirds at least, of the mariners on board their ships, should be natives of France; and by encouragements given to their plantation Trades, and to their northern fisheries, have encreased the number of seamen, in proportion to the encrease of those Trades which employ so great a commercial navigation. Therefore, as we, by beginning first with these principles, have got the start in our superiority at sea, it seems incumbent upon us to make use of that superiority, to prevent the French, as much as possible, from enlarging those Trades which employ so great a number of their ships and seamen. This I have observed in some Remarks on the Marine of France, lately published; and if we are not wanting to ourselves, in what I have there recommended, we need not apprehend that they can be formidable to us at sea, by any artificial schemes or compulsory methods which they have lately projected, which unnatural projects we shall soon see evaporate into the air, from whence they were formed. Since the only natural foundation for the *encrease of a naval power*, must depend on the *encrease of seamen*, as the encrease of seamen must depend on the *encrease of navigation*; and the encrease of navigation upon the *enlargement of those Trades which employ our own built shipping and our own native seamen*.

Since

Since then it appears to be the interest of every country to procure all foreign commodities by their own navigation, and from the places of the original growth and production of those commodities, both the French and Dutch, as well as the English, have respectively taken care to have houses and factories settled in the different sea-ports, either of Europe, or up the Levant, where there is any mart for their own, or the merchandize they stand in need of; in which consuls are appointed by each, to be watchful that their merchants and factories enjoy all the liberties of the port, and all the privileges and immunities that have been settled for them, either by treaty, or voluntary grants from the sovereigns under whose protection they were invited to reside and traffick. Amidst this struggle of different nations, to procure particular exemptions to their own subjects, the English formerly were not the least assiduous; and accordingly many privileges have been granted to our factors residing in Spain, Portugal, Italy, or Turkey; all which it is incumbent on us still to claim, or to insist, if we cannot obtain an extraordinary indulgence, at least to be used according to the language of treaties, in the same manner as other nations, the most favoured, are. Protection to our merchants abroad, is as necessary as protection at home, since from thence the intercourse of commerce between the several houses, will be carried on with greater ease to the individuals, which will consequently yield a more secure profit to the kingdom in general.

But with respect to Trades carried on by the Europeans in general with the remoter countries, with whom, by reason of their distance, barbarity, and want of communication with
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Christian princes, we can form no alliance nor treaty; these can be secured no other way, than by establishing proper settlements, maintaining a force, and appointing factories, and agents to sell off the commodities sent from hence, and to get ready, at proper times, such an assortment of their productions as are usually demanded in return; for this reason, public companies have been erected in every nation, for carrying on these large and extensive branches of commerce, which require a larger expence than can be supported by individuals, without an association.

From hence will arise the important consideration, Whether such companies should be *exclusive*, with the sole privilege of enjoying the advantages of any particular Trade? Or, Whether the Trade would not be more beneficially conducted by a *regulated* company? I mean, such as any may have the liberty to enter into, on payment of a certain sum, and on giving security to abide by the rules and orders that shall be settled by proper authority. This seems to be the most proper method, which, in such a free country as ours, ought to take place, towards encreasing the branches of Trade to the general advantage of the whole nation. Whereas, exclusive companies aim only at the advantage of their own members, by seeking for a large profit out of a few articles, and choosing rather to advance a price by the scarcity of a commodity, than to sell a larger quantity at a moderate rate: thus the East India company in Holland, import only a limited quantity of the products of their spice islands, ordering the surplus to be burnt and destroyed, rather than to bring over so large a cargoe as may cheapen their price, and render the sale

less profitable to the company. We may here add a yet more general remark, that the Trade of Europe to the other three parts of the globe, being chiefly carried on under such exclusive powers, debars the generality of our people from having any communication with countries which make up by far the greatest part of the world; and with whom many other branches of commerce might be extended by a more universal liberty: but what is still worse, companies thus incorporated, whether in England, France, Spain, or Holland, not only exclude the common inhabitants from sharing in those Trades, but they themselves neglect to traffick to the full extent of their jurisdictions, choosing to confine their Trade within the limits of what can be managed to a certain degree of profit to their own community. This, sir William Temple informs us, was the policy of the Dutch East India company, “ who
 “ had long forbidden, under the greatest penalties, any farther attempts of discovering that continent, having already
 “ more Trade in those parts than they could turn to account;
 “ and fearing some more populous nation of Europe might
 “ make great establishments of Trade in some of those unknown regions, which might ruin and impair what the
 “ Dutch had already in the Indies.”

But I am aware that several of the exclusive companies in England have procured acts of parliament, to give authority to those privileges which could not be so well justified under letters patent, and may now possibly be able to give reasons for their continuance, which were not subsisting when their charter first commenced; I mean with regard to the expence they have been at in building of forts and factories, and in
 maintaining

maintaining disputes with the natives and others concerning their settlements, and in having entered into treaties with the neighbouring princes, in order to procure a subsisting traffick, which they alledge must be destroyed, should the management of their Trade be now altered in its form or constitution: these allegations however, can be no justification of an exclusive company, if it can be proved that the same purposes may as well be answered by a regulated company, left open and free for the admission of any to trade on their own account, submitting to the orders, and paying their respective shares towards the general regulation. Sir Josiah Child, in his discourse on Trade, concluding upon this general rule, that all restrictions upon Trade are hurtful, employs a whole chapter, to prove that no company of merchants whatever, whether they trade on a joint stock, or under regulations, can be for the public good, except it be easy for all his majesty's subjects to be admitted for a very inconsiderable fine; for he observes, that the only pretence of any good to the nation by companies, is order and regulation, which the admission of all that will come in and submit to, will not prejudice. The happy instance of the great success this nation has enjoyed in the African Trade, by the means of such an easy admission into that company, will, it is to be hoped, induce us to open the like freedom to share in some other Trades which still remain shut up and restrained.

On the other hand, it must be owned that a company, I mean a regulated company, is, in some instances, very necessary to be established, particularly in the Levant and Turkey Trade, in order to restrain the generality of our merchants,

in the first place, from sending out such a glut of our commodities or manufactures as might depreciate their sale ; next, to hinder them from making their returns at improper seasons, or from infected places ; and lastly, to prevent any national loss or discredit that might arise from the frauds and impositions of private people : for when freedom of Trade is thus likely to be turn'd into licentiousness, restraint then gives sanction to the charter, and justifies our legislature in laying it under particular limitations. Thus the ingenious author of the treatise, entitled, the *Spirit of Laws*, lays it down, that the freedom of commerce doth not imply a power in merchants to do what they please, nor is a restraint on them a restraint on commerce, since it is rather in favour of commerce, that they should in many instances be restrained. His meaning here must be understood as relative to the spirit of commerce in general ; concerning which, it is a remark, that, in some instances, the nation may gain, when the merchant loses ; and, in others, the merchant may gain, when the nation loses : to reconcile both to a mutual profit, will best answer to the idea we should form of that *national system of commerce*, which is the subject of this treatise.

These conditions being settled, the general principle of granting liberty to all persons to carry on foreign commerce to any part of the world, remains then without exception, as most agreeable to the nature of our constitution, which is said to be built upon the basis of liberty ; and whose laws have established it as a maxim, that monopolies of all kinds are odious, and ought to be suppressed, as being discouragements to Trade, and obstructions to the free circulation of the employment of the people, and of the wealth of the nation.

If the freedom of Trade is not to be restrained by our own laws, much less ought we to suffer it to be controuled by any foreign power: one state may indeed prohibit, or, by high duties, lessen the importation of commodities belonging to another; for which it must be content to receive a retaliation by an equal prohibition laid against its own; but no nation in Europe has a right to prevent another from trafficking in such parts of the world, as are equally independant of the dominion of both: any two countries, the most distant in the world, if they mutually agree, have a natural right to trade with each other, and the interruption of a third is an hostility to both, and a breach of the general law of nations: whatever kingdom therefore, shall thus pretend to interrupt our commerce to any part wherein they have no factories settled, no forts built, nor any other ensigns of authority, or tokens of possession, must be treated as an enemy, and the Trade carried on under the protection of our superior force and power.

These difficulties in guiding the separate interest of each Trade to the general interest of the whole, make it necessary for a government to appoint a particular department in its administration, to superintend the affairs of commerce, and examine all proposals for its advancement, or complaints of its decay. Such a one was proposed to be established in France by the edict of 1664, which was afterwards modelled and altered by several subsequent arrêts of council, and is now composed of the chief officers of the state, and of twelve deputies, two from Paris, and the other ten sent from as many of the principal trading towns in the different parts of the kingdom; to whom, by the arrêt of council of 1700, and.

and, by a subsequent declaration in 1722, it is referred “ to
 “ discuss and examine all propositions and memorials which
 “ shall be sent to their office, together with the affairs and
 “ difficulties which may arise concerning commerce, as well
 “ by land as by sea, within the kingdom and out of it, and
 “ concerning the fabricks and manufactures; to the end,
 “ that upon the report of their resolutions, his majesty may
 “ order what is most proper.” But propositions of this kind
 being referred to twelve deputies, sent as above-mentioned,
 from the principal trading towns in the different parts of the
 kingdom, are seldom, for that reason, discussed with such
 impartiality as might conduce to the benefit of their Trade in
 general; since each deputy seems more concerned for the inte-
 rest of the town from whence he is sent, than for the general
 interest of the whole; and accordingly, their representations
 laid before the royal council, many times contain only matters
 of controversy amongst themselves, concerning privileges to
 be granted to one in prejudice of another; and the decisions
 generally are made on behalf of those who can procure the
 greatest influence at court.

The council of Trade established in England, was origi-
 nally intended to take cognizance of all matters relative to the
 several branches of commerce, though the business of that
 board is now chiefly confined to the affairs of our *colonies*
 and *plantations*; and these indeed occasion sufficient employ-
 ment; especially as their late enlargement must create new
 difficulties in settling the religious, civil, and military esta-
 blishments of their various governments; all which must be
 equally subject to the same uniform rules of dependance on
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their mother country, not to pass any laws or acts of assemblies repugnant to our constitution ; nor carry on any Trades, or set up any manufactures, which may be prejudicial to the Trade and manufactures of this kingdom. From hence it may perhaps be expedient to enlarge the power of this office for Trade and plantations, by making it the sole intermediate department between the crown and the American colonies : for certainly a council of Trade in a trading nation, should, by its very appellation, be considered as an office, both of the highest dignity, and of the greatest utility.

With regard to all other branches of commerce, either at home or abroad, which from time to time require new regulations, the usual application has been to the legislative power ; in which, gentlemen of independant fortunes, meeting together, and not having any partial concern for one Trade more than another, are most likely to form a disinterested judgment upon matters, which are sometimes proposed with private views of profit by one set of men, and as often opposed from the same views of private interest by another ; in which the greatest caution must be used, to give preference to such proposals only, as are most likely to conduce to the *national* benefit of Trade in general.

As there is great difficulty in reconciling these altercations between the trading subjects in our own dominions, greater difficulties will yet arise in adjusting such disputes between nation and nation ; which, though sometimes amicably decided by treaties of commerce, yet more frequently terminate in open hostilities : but it being a common observation, that Trade and war are incompatible, it may be impolitick for a
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commercial nation, like ours, to enter into a war, especially a continental war, unless it be necessary for the welfare and security of our Trade, or in defence of our allies, with whom we are bound by stipulated engagements for our joint security, to preserve the ballance of power, and the liberties of Europe. On these, and all other necessary occasions, there is no doubt but his majesty will exert his power, and that his people will as chearfully assist with the means of supporting him against any insults on his crown and dignity; against any encroachments on his territories; and against any infringement on the British rights of Trade and navigation. Being satisfied with this, we ought to be cautious, not upon any slight occasion to break the peace, or come to an open rupture with our neighbours; for though private individuals may enrich themselves by captures and prizes during the contest; yet the public expence in maintaining it, must accumulate a heavy burthen on the nation in general. To lessen this as much as possible, let it be our policy to attempt the decision of these public contests, rather by our naval power at sea, than by land forces sent over to the continent; since these must be maintained by money transmitted from our own, to circulate in a foreign country: whereas the expence of our navy circulates amongst ourselves. We have yet a more potent reason for employing our naval power at sea, because upon that element our strength is superior to that of our enemies; and as it is our natural strength, we ought chiefly to rely upon it for our protection and defence.

Protection

Protection to our foreign Trade comes now to be recommended; which protection is equally due in times of peace as well as of war; by having our fleets in readiness to assert our rights in all parts of the world, and by sending convoys with our merchant ships in times of danger, to secure them from the robbery of pirates, and the insults or depredations of other nations. This public care is also to be extended for the defence of our distant possessions, by keeping up our garrisons and fortifications in the Mediterranean; by erecting forts and factories on the coasts of Africa; and by sending troops to support the rights of Trade belonging to our East India company: for it must ever be the rule and policy of our government, that as far as we extend our Trade and navigation, so far to extend our power for its protection.

From hence a farther benefit will arise, that as our navigation will be carried on with less danger, a less insurance will be demanded on its risque; consequently, greater shares of foreign cargoes, as well as of our own, will be ventured upon English bottoms. And for the greater security of navigation, common humanity requires some public expence towards fixing buoys, and light-houses, and sea-marks, near our coasts, for the direction of ships and vessels in the safest course, and for the repair of the moles, piers, and other works for the safe-guard of ships at anchor in our havens. Let me farther add, that it is equally necessary to have an easy communication from any ports to the interior parts of the country. The paved roads in France through the extent of its dominions, and the cutts and canals which have joined an inland communication between the seas on its different

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fides, are often cited as the most amazing enterprizes of this age; and, in both instances, perhaps, are equal to any of the stupendous works of the Romans. The same public spirit has of late years been exerted in England, by erecting turnpikes for the mending the highways, and by encouraging the inland navigation of rivers to many of the interior parts of our island. These public works have not only rendered the communication more easy, but have reduced the price of carriage; and as the price of carriage is an additional article imposed on the prime cost of all moveable commodities, a cheaper freight at sea, and a cheaper carriage at land, will consequently occasion a cheaper sale of the goods.

Upon the whole, the methods of carrying on our Trade and dealings either at home or abroad, must be subservient to the first general principles, so often recommended in this system of national commerce; such, I mean, as granting an universal liberty to Trade; national encouragement towards the enlargement of it; and public protection to those who are engaged in it. From hence the channels towards obtaining the ballance in our favour will be rendered more safe and easy; the merchants will be enriched by Trade; and the riches of individuals procured by Trade, will of course be the riches of the nation in general. Our remaining care must then be, to direct the *national wealth* in such a proper *circulation*, as may farther contribute to the encrease of our products and manufactures at home, and to the advancement of our commerce abroad.

P A R T III.

Concerning the due Circulation of Money and Credit.

I AM now to enter upon the last, though not least material consideration, concerning the CIRCULATION OF OUR MONEY AND CREDIT; I mean such, be it gold or silver, as is introduced into our nation by the sale of our productions, arising from the employment of our people. These are the only solid foundations of Trade, by which riches can be brought in, or preserved in any nation: and as Trade brings in money, so money is again necessary to carry on Trade: nor is it barely the affluence of wealth, but the regular *circulation* of it that can yield happiness to a people; as it is not an abundance of food, but a proper digestion that nourishes the body. To which purpose, we are to regard not only the quantity, but the division of the general stock; and in what manner, and in what proportion, the same may be applied—First, to the *service of the public*—Next, to the *uses of Trade*—And lastly, to the *conveniency and happiness* of the community in general.

The SERVICE of the PUBLIC requires the first consideration ; to which purpose some share of the annual income of the nation must be set apart, by contributions raised upon the whole community. These contributions must indeed be burthensome both on land and Trade, from whence they are raised : but they are burthens felt in common by all nations ; and it is the difference of their number, and the methods by which they are collected, that compose the distinguishing marks of the state of every country.

To judge therefore of the state of any nation, we must examine what contributions it can afford to support its public expences ; these not only arise from the extent and situation of the country, but are farther encreased from the occasional exigency of the government, according to what may be wanting for the support of the civil œconomy, the military establishments, and the supplies that may be necessary for carrying on the current services, or the payment of the national debt. Consequently, that government that has the fewest of these demands, will have the more to spare, in proportion to its income, towards the circulation of Trade, and the private conveniency of each individual.

From hence it appears to be the first duty of every administration, to reduce the public expences as low as is consistent to the general safety, according to the exigency of the state ; and then to demand no other contributions than what will answer those expences.

The contributions demanded by the government, ought to be taken from the principal parts which compose its annual wealth. In doing this, we should make such an equitable disposition

disposition in our demands, as not to draw more in proportion from one channel, than from the other ; since an unequal drain may retard that general supply, which ought to flow from the free and united current of all. But it happens to be the interest of too many amongst us, to oppose such an equality, not only in the land-tax, but in several other branches of the revenues ; which, if more equally collected, would not only be more just and impartial, but each would yield a great deal more.

From hence will appear the benefit of that other maxim, which is, to lessen the necessity of creating a multiplicity of taxes, by enlarging the produce of a few.

Such impositions being equally laid, ought also to be levied alike on all ranks and conditions of its inhabitants ; for to exempt, as in France, the clergy and nobility from taxes to which the rest of the community are liable, is a distinction unknown and inconsistent to our constitution.

As every tax ought to be equal, so should the advantages proposed by it be universal ; it being the same injustice that a few only should pay, for what is a benefit to the whole ; as that the whole should pay, for what is a benefit only to a few.

From whatever part, or whatever rank of people a tax is levied, it must be destined to some necessary purpose ; the appropriation of our funds, being the most satisfactory return that can be made to those who contribute towards them. It is the maxim in an absolute monarchy, that the king has the sole right to levy a tribute without account ; but it is the principle of a free government, that the people, by their representatives,

representatives, should be consulted before hand, to what purpose the public demand is made; and be satisfied afterwards, that it was appropriated to that purpose.

The payment of every tax demanded for any particular purpose, ought to relate only to the time in which that purpose is to be answered; so as not to burthen one year with the charges of another. Here, were it not too late, we might expatiate on that solid maxim, which every government ought to observe, of paying its yearly expences by revenues raised within the year; otherwise, by breaking into this measure, we commence a debt, and for the sake of some temporary expedient, anticipate our funds, and entail a burthen upon posterity for future ages.

Every tax raised on any commodity, ought to yield its full proportion to the sale and consumption of that commodity. To this end, the tax should be levied only on its last sale or consumption; for whatever is offered to be sold with a duty imposed upon it in the first instance, is rendered yet more chargeable by the subsequent intermediate dealers, who raise their price higher in proportion than the duty paid, and impose an encreased weight of their profits upon the public; so that, whilst the government, in some cases, receives scarce half its due, the people pay almost double to its demands.

Lastly, these taxes should be collected by the most frugal, and the least oppressive methods; but it may be difficult to gain the total supply, without such severe and penal laws as will create jealousies and uneasiness amongst the people. To imitate the exactions of the farmer generals in France would be too oppressive; to agree to accept a voluntary composition
would

would perhaps be insufficient. It must therefore require great skill in such a government as ours, to find the medium of making our revenues answer to the full, and yet to collect them by such methods as are consistent with the form of our constitution, and agreeable to the genius and liberty of our people. If this could happily be brought about, we might then be relieved from a multitude of taxes by the improvement of a few ; consequently, the collecting would be attended with less charge ; and the supply depended upon with greater certainty.

I have enumerated these general *maxims* and *principles*, without entering into an examination of the means for carrying them into execution ; considering the exigency of our affairs has occasioned such extraordinary demands as cannot be answered but by over burthensome taxes ; neither can these be collected with that order and frugality as might in some measure alleviate their burthen. Whilst we lament our own, it may be some consolation to reflect that the yet greater exigencies of our rivals, particularly of France, require larger expences, which are raised by heavier impositions, and collected by more oppressive methods, without any prospect of being relieved ; witness, the late fruitless remonstrances of their parliaments. But we are in better hopes, that the encrease of our Trade, by the advantages lately acquired, will so far encrease the produce of our sinking fund, as to enable us gradually to discharge our national debt, to which it is appropriated ; and therefore, the inviolable rule of our policy, should be to apply this fund to no other purpose ; in order, that as we reduce this great burthen of our government debts,

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we may reduce the other necessary revenues into such a compass, as may admit of a proper disposition, pursuant to the principles above recommended.

The proper disposition of our public revenues will be attended with the farther advantage of a PUBLIC CREDIT, to circulate, and even augment our national wealth. This *credit* must arise from a confidence on the security of the government punctually to answer its public engagements; and accordingly may exist in such a free constitution as ours, whilst the interest of the administration, and the interest of the people, combine together in a mutual confidence in each other; but can never subsist under a despotic government, where the performance of the engagement depends on the will of an arbitrary prince. Accordingly, in France, national acts of bankruptcy have been committed more than once within this century, in violation of their public faith, by extravagantly perverting the funds to a different purpose than that for which they were established. On the contrary, be it the care of our administration, that the public revenues be not unduly applied nor lavishly wasted; that the interest of our funds be regularly paid, and the right to the principal legally secured: and lastly, that the national credit be not prostituted to the chimerical bubbles of stockjobbing, nor to the self-interested views of enterprizing projectors. Under such a patriot administration, our public securities will bear their natural price; the circulation of our wealth will currently pass; Trade will prosper; and the people in general be contented, peaceable, and happy.

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Let us now proceed to the second object proposed to be considered, and examine the *rules* and *maxims* which may be most instrumental to the *uses of Trade*, either with regard to the profits to be returned from abroad, or to the *convenience* of its circulation at home.

The quantity and circulation of money, and more especially of silver, must here be set down as the measure of commerce; and as it is the measure by which other commodities, according to their quantity, are to be valued; so its own value, like that of other commodities, is also to be determined by its greater or less quantity. Money, when it is scarce, is dear; when it is plentiful, it is cheap: but as the dearth or cheapness of every production takes its denomination from the quantity of money offered for it, so the price of both money and merchandize appear reciprocally contrary to each other: for example, when money is dear, commodities are cheap; when money is cheap, commodities are dear; that is, in other words, if the currency of cash be not abundant, less can be afforded for any thing that is wanted in exchange, which consequently must be sold for a less quantity of money; but if money be plentiful, more will be afforded, consequently, the commodity will be sold for a greater quantity of money.

The great equilibrium of commerce must therefore be maintained by preserving such a ballance, between the quantity of money and the quantity of merchandize, as may equally help the circulation of each other. Too great scarcity of money, though it be a mark of the want of Trade, yet the cheapness of other productions which that scarcity of money will occasion, may be the means of encreasing Trade: on the other

hand, too great plenty of money, though some may think it a fault on the right side, yet the dearness of commodities arising from thence, will occasion future loss in Trade : thus both these evils bring with them their own remedy, until the circulation of money be reduced into that middle channel, in which the natural currency of Trade can only be contained. In like manner, to carry on the allusion, as the want of water, or the overflowing of a river, equally stops the course of its navigation.

This should teach us to put no other value on money, than as it is introduced in the course of Trade ; for gold or silver raised, as it were gratis, out of mines, or even gained by the pillage and plunder of a conquered enemy, yet not being purchased by the previous employment of our people, are no farther to be esteemed, than as they may create future employment. In fact, the sale of our natural and artificial productions, arising from the cultivation of land, and the skill and labour of its inhabitants, compose what must be esteemed the real riches of a country ; and the gold and silver that is brought in by the sale of those productions, can only be set down as its nominal wealth ; which nominal wealth must owe all its motions and activity, to the motions and activity of the real wealth which it represents ; and both must combine by their mutual exchange, to promote that circulation which gives life and vigour to the whole.

From hence it follows, that *industry* and *Trade* are the means, and only means, of procuring a constant flow of *national wealth*, which will continue amongst us, so long as we, by such industry and Trade, export to a greater value of our
own

own commodities, than we import of what is foreign. A strict adherence to this maxim, will retain our money to be circulated within our own boundaries; and being thus retained and circulated, the national wealth will become more durable and valuable than any riches that can be drawn from the mines of Peru. There are two noted instances in Europe, commonly produced to evince the truth of this position; first, the Dutch, who, by their situation, having no other resource but what arises from their industry and commerce, are from thence preserved in an even state of wealth and grandeur: whilst the Spaniards, having their silver wantonly poured in upon them by the help of their mines, are prompted lazily to purchase from the more industrious parts of the world, what they might as well raise amongst themselves; and being thus drained of their ready money, as fast as it comes in, they continue poor, only from the too easy opportunity of being rich. This proves that there is a proportion to be kept between money and Trade; money will beget money when brought in by Trade; but riches, if they may be so called, when brought in without the assistance of Trade, will soon go off for want of Trade. Upon the whole, too great plenty of money, like too much food to a natural body, will surfeit the stomach that is not prepared to receive it; and instead of affording health and nourishment, turn only to crudities and diseases: if therefore, we wish, like Midas, by unnatural means, to turn every thing into gold, we shall, like him, be soon deprived of all necessary sustenance.

Money, or more properly silver bullion, being the medium of commerce, its relative value in the mutual dealings between trading nations, is determined by the *price of exchange*, which must be considered as the measure of our loss and gain. If the value of what we export be equal to the value of what we import, the money, or, which is the same, the bills mutually remitted will be equal, and the exchange consequently will be at par: but if we are gainers upon the general balance, the difference will be sent over to us in real specie, which, in proportion to its greater quantity, will bear a less price, and then the exchange will be under par. If, on the other hand, we are losers upon the balance, we must remit the difference in specie from hence, which, by rendering our bullion more scarce, will raise its price here, and consequently our exchange will be above par; that is, a præmium will be demanded for our silver above its natural price, on account of the greater quantity that is wanted to be sent abroad, in order to pay for the greater value of foreign commodities imported, than what the value of our exported products will answer. This therefore should oblige us to recur to the fundamental maxim of Trade in every nation, which is, to restrain luxury from prevailing too far in the *consumption of foreign products*, which will undermine the very foundation of our commerce, and carry away all the riches necessary to be circulated at home: for when we consume more commodities from abroad than our own will barter for, the difference must be paid by sending out our bullion, and even coined specie, in spite of the strictest penal laws to prevent it; such laws being quite useless, as they flagrantly prove to be in Spain and Portugal: instead

instead therefore of making laws to prohibit the exportation of coin, we should begin sooner, and endeavour to restrain the means which make the exportation necessary.

Whilst we are enforcing this proper and only method of *procuring riches from abroad*, we must be no less attentive to the rules for circulating the money so procured to the *convenience* of our Trade at home.

In order to this, we ought first to fix the *current price* of our money to the *real and true standard*; since no law, name, or impression, can alter its market value, which must be estimated only by its quantity, weight, and fineness, as the great Mr. Lock has fully proved and illustrated in his considerations concerning the raising the value of money.

The miseries France has suffered by the frequent raising of their coins, are amply set forth in several remonstrances that were made at the beginning of this century, by the court of aids and chamber of accounts at Paris; wherein they complained, “ that the *encreasing* the nominal value of their coin, “ not only occasioned confusion in their own property, but “ tended to the enriching of foreigners, who were tempted “ to counterfeit the same species, and imported them in order “ to gain the advantage of their over rated value.” Equal mischiefs must ensue where the denominations of the coin are *under* their real value; which will stop their circulation at home, and make it the people's interest to export them abroad, where they may be weighed off for their full price. This effect we find in our crown-pieces, which being worth somewhat more than what they currently pass for here, are therefore carried off to China and Holland, and may be found in greater plenty abroad than in England.

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The Chinese, we are told, use no coin at all, but every one carries about with him his scissars and scales, and cuts and weighs off the quantity of silver agreed to be taken in exchange for any kind of commodities. This, however certain a method it may be to obviate all fraud, is nevertheless tedious and troublesome: coining is therefore established in this part of the world, for the more ease and quickness in sale; and that there may be a certainty of its value, the price is fixed upon each piece by public authority; the counterfeiting, altering, or diminishing of which, is made a very high crime in every part of Europe, in order to prevent that from passing as lawful money, that has not a just and legal value. Coin should therefore be a security to the public, that every specie of it is worth the price for which it is offered; and that all denominations of money answer in their different proportions to their intrinsic value: to this end, every government takes upon itself the management of the mint, to warrant, by public stamp, the price and true standard of the monies issued out. For gold and silver, though properly used as a pledge or medium for the ease and circulation of Trade, yet must be esteemed, like all other commodities, only by its intrinsic goodness, considered with the quantity, and the demand made for it: the coining therefore ought to be declaratory of its real value, estimated in this manner; for an arbitrary denomination cannot raise, nor sink, nor any ways alter its intrinsic worth: every superficial attempt of this nature has always been found, not only hurtful and inconvenient in the means, but fruitless in the effect; nor can it answer any other purpose, than to turn money itself, by jobbing, into a *Trade*, instead of being made the *medium* of it.

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But as the coined species would in many cases be cumbersome and inconvenient to be told out in tale, a *paper credit* has been substituted, to quicken the circulation by notes and bills of exchange. Such paper credit may indeed be said to double the wealth it represents, as the money and the notes of equal value are running out together; but yet, if such notes are issued upon money really paid, they will circulate no longer than until that money be wanted, upon the repayment of which, the circulation is again reduced to the single sum, and real quantity of specie: upon this foundation, *banks* have been established in almost every part of Europe; some of which, by their quick and punctual payments, have gained a reputation, even beyond the proportion of treasure they may be supposed to contain. And to forward this credit, for the ease of Trade in all distant parts, our laws have laid down rules for the security of personal engagements, and provided means for the better circulating all foreign and inland bills of exchange. But if such bills and notes be issued out without a valuable consideration, then a fictitious wealth being added beyond the proportion of Trade, in which it is employed, must be detrimental to the public, and end in the ruin of those who gave credit to the imposition: for as public credit depends on securities fixed to answer the public engagements, so private credit, being set up in the room of ready money, subsists on the private assurance of the existence of the money, to be restored at some limited time.

Yet perhaps it may be impossible to avoid being deceived by a person's supposed circumstance; since the real substance of men can be but little guessed at by their outward appearance;

ance: credit, in this respect, is all a venture, being generally extended beyond any possibility of discovering the strength or weakness of that chain, by which several interests are so linked together, that the bankruptcy of one, may often occasion the failure of many. Thus, credit is often described as having a precarious existence, formed by opinion, and depending on mens passions of hopes and fears; gained by punctuality and fair dealing; and lost upon the least perception of evil faith, or the decline of affairs.

As there is such a hazard in giving credit, some recompense ought to be made for the use and enjoyment of the money borrowed. To which purpose, an *interest* must be presumed to be due and payable; the rate of which will naturally be settled according to the general plenty of money, and the quantity wanted to be borrowed; considering, at the same time, the nature of the security offered. If money be scarce, the loan will be high; if money be plentiful, it will be low. It has therefore been found always vain and fruitless to make arbitrary laws to alter the common and natural rate. For if less than the market price be offered, by those who want to borrow, none will lend; if a higher price be demanded by those who are able to lend, none will borrow. But although the rate of interest will thus follow in proportion to the quantity of money wanted to be borrowed, compared to the quantity ready to be lent; yet there is a necessity for laws to fix the legal standard, in order to adjudge what proportion should be paid on all notes and bonds where interest and forbearance money shall happen not to be mentioned; or even where it is mentioned, to fix bounds to usury and extortion, the very
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bane of all commerce. This however, which is called *lawful interest*, should from time to time be so *altered*, as to keep nearly even to, or very little above the *natural* rate.

As it is plenty of money which occasions lowness of interest, we should always wish to find interest so low, as to render our people incapable of living upon the income of a small stock; consequently, they will be obliged to employ their money in Trade, in order to make some greater advantage by it; or lend it out to such as have only skill and industry, and no ready cash to carry on any particular branch of business: for if these can borrow at an easy rate, they will of course launch out into more extensive dealings. This may very well reconcile the disputes that have arose amongst some writers on this subject, Whether low interest be the cause, or the effect of an enlarged commerce? It may be considered as both, for as a successful commerce will bring in plenty of money, that plenty will certainly occasion interest to be low; in this instance, therefore, it must be considered as the effect of Trade: so afterwards, this lowness of interest may be the cause of enlarging commerce; since the more easy the terms are, upon which money can be borrowed, the more is likely to be employed in Trade; and the more that is so employed, so much the more will our wealth be encreased.

Now the rate to which we should wish our interest to be reduced, is to find it about *par*, or rather *under* what is given for the use of money in any other trading country: for example, if the natural rate in Holland be only 2 per cent. the Dutch will enter into several little branches of Trade which may yield at least 4 per cent. and which Trades we neglect,

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because we can gain as much by being idle and lending out our money. On the other hand, those who borrow money here at the rate of 4 per cent. in order to carry on a traffick, must make more than double that interest, or they will not think it sufficient gain for their risk and trouble. We may observe farther, that so long as interest is higher in England than in other places, foreigners are invited to become our creditors, especially upon our government securities, the payment of whose dividends, is a dead loss upon our ballance.

When people find they cannot live idly upon low interest, they will be apt to turn their thoughts to the methods of subsisting by skill and industry, and consequently be better judges of the value of money, by knowing what trouble there is in getting it; this will naturally introduce a spirit of *frugality*, which ought to prevail towards the preservation of wealth when it is acquired. This is the distinguishing character of the Dutch, who, by their natural parsimony, are content with little profit, by which means they encrease their Trade into a greater variety of branches: whereas extravagancy obliges some of their neighbours to demand higher returns, and consequently makes them neglect all those several intercourses of traffick, where the income is not likely to answer the higher proportion of their expences.

Whilst it is the national interest to encourage industry and frugality in our people, it is no less a public concern to discourage all from hazarding their fortunes in the mischievous amusement of private or public gaming, or of adventuring their money in any kind of lotteries, excepting such as the occasional exigency of the government may require: or, what
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is worse, from following the infamous practice of stockjobbing, a species of gaming that depends upon the most deceitful chances; which not only diverts private people from exercising their lawful employments, to the great discouragement of Trade, but even makes public credit the instrument and sacrifice of a bubble. Several acts of parliament have indeed within a few years been passed, to prevent the mischiefs of private gaming, and the yet more fatal consequences of public stockjobbing. Happy would it have been for many ruined families, had the same been sooner prevented.

But whatever expedients we may use to induce men to be industrious and frugal, *honesty* and *fair dealing* must support the whole. To this purpose, our common and statute laws have laid strict penalties on any deceit in the making or non-performance of contracts, and on all forgeries of bonds, bills, or notes, and on all counterfeits and cheats under false tokens and pretences: and even equity will lend its aid, to relieve from the unjust advantages that may be taken either of the necessity or ignorance of any man.

Money and credit being thus duly circulated towards the *public service* and the *uses of Trade*, our remaining care must be, to promote the enjoyment of wealth, by such a freedom in its distribution, as may contribute to the *ease* and *happiness* of each individual.

The first happiness of life, next to health and a conscience void of offence, is the possession of riches, and a free liberty of disposing of them as we please, provided however, this liberty be not extended to licentiousness, nor to the indulging of such vices, which, in themselves, and by the badness of

their example, may destroy or impair the health, strength, or morals of the people; and provided also, that luxury be restrained from prevailing too much in the *consumption of foreign* products or manufactures, to the prejudice of our own: a maxim I have often mentioned before, and, with respect to the subject I am treating of, cannot be too often repeated.

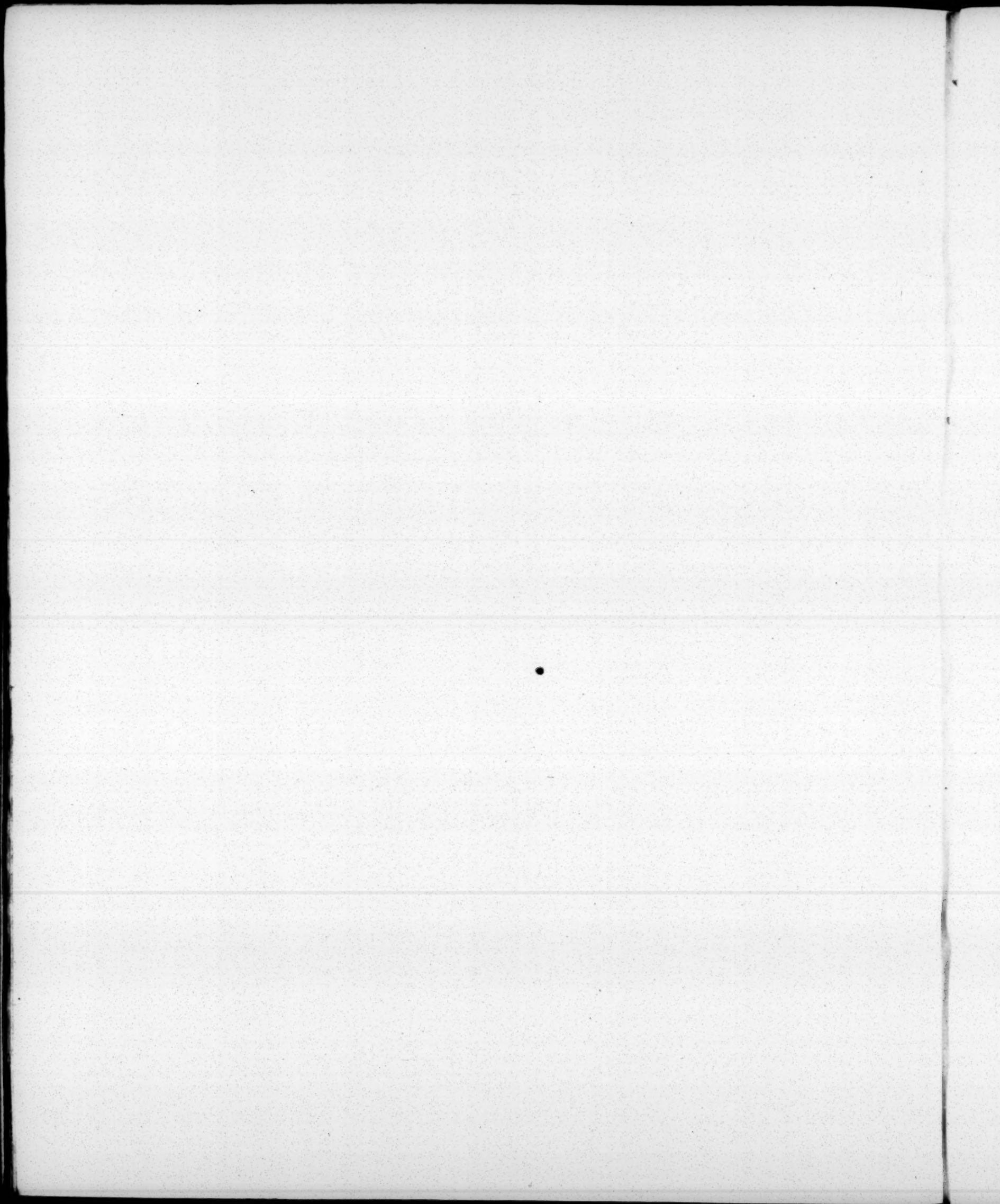
Under these restraints, luxury, if it may be so called, must be allowed to attend upon riches; and perhaps the prospect of enjoying it, is one great motive to all our previous toil and labour: for it is certain, that the more men are curbed from the enjoyment of what they have, the less anxious they will be to acquire more. It is a great encouragement therefore to our Trade, as well as comfort to our people, that there is no nation in Europe where the general wealth is more freely disposed of, or more equally diffused than in England; where the people of the highest, or the lowest rank, live under the same indulgence; and every one, of whatever condition or profession he be, so long as he keeps within the compass of his gains, and the laws of his country, is absolutely free from the controul of any other. At the same time, the statute of distributions divides all personal estates in such an equal manner, as to prevent them from being engrossed by too few hands; and the liberty of conveying landed estates, and cutting off entails, occasions the same circulation of money, towards the purchase of real property, and prevents, what the law is said to abhor, a perpetuity in any one hand. Thus the hopes of acquiring, at one time or other, a real property in our country, is the pleasing view in all our efforts. From this indulgence, the money brought to the port is carried into all
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the interior parts, and dispersed throughout the whole body of the kingdom; lands improved, buildings encreased, the country adorned, and a solid stock of wealth is added to the nation.

Lastly, our great and chief happiness consists in the inviolable possession of our properties, and in the full enjoyment of all our civil and religious liberties. These are blessings which we owe to the form of our constitution in general, and to the security we possess under the happy establishment of the present Royal Family. Riches thus secured, and freely enjoyed, bear a price even beyond their intrinsic value, and ought to quicken our industry, and excite our application more strongly in their pursuit. And since national wealth can only be procured by the advancement of our foreign commerce, arising from the employment of our people in husbandry and manufactures, let us endeavour to enforce these solid means, that the return of money, answering to the encreased sale of our commodities, may enable us to exert that vigour, strength, and power, which are the essential consequences of REGULARITY, EXERCISE, and a NATURAL GOOD CONSTITUTION.

F I N I S.





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